

The ALABAMA REVIEW

A Quarterly Journal of Alabama History

VOLUME IV • JULY, 1951 • NUMBER 3

Contents

RUMMAGING IN ALABAMA'S BACKGROUND	
ALBERT B. MOORE	163
STEAMBOATS ON THE COOSA	
MARVIN B. SMALL	183
THE SOUTH AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS	
AVERY CRAVEN	195
THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION	
D. HUGH DARDEN	214
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER	
MAUD McLURE KELLY	220
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS	221
BOOK REVIEWS	237
NEWS AND NOTICES	239

Published by UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA PRESS, *University, Alabama*
in Co-operation with the ALABAMA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Editor: W. STANLEY HOOLE, *University of Alabama*

Editorial Board: Hallie Farmer, 1954, *Alabama College*. Malcolm C. McMillan, 1954, *Alabama Polytechnic Institute*. Charles G. Summersell, 1953, *University of Alabama*. Edgar L. Pennington, 1953, *Mobile, Alabama*. Rhoda C. Ellison, 1952, *Huntingdon College*. Carolyn L. Luttrell, 1952, *Sylacauga, Alabama*.

Managing Editor: James B. McMillan, *University of Alabama*

CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT B. MOORE, who was president of the Alabama Historical Association for 1950-1951, is a professor of history and dean of the Graduate School, University of Alabama.

MARVIN B. SMALL, a retired foundryman of Gadsden, has been interested in river boats, especially those on the Coosa, all his life.

AVERY CRAVEN is a professor of history at the University of Chicago.

D. HUGH DARDEN is assistant professor of history at State Teachers College, Florence.

Rummaging in Alabama's Backgrounds

By ALBERT B. MOORE

"Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn," commanded the prophet Isaiah with the perspective of the historian.¹ Alabamians generally have not been much concerned with the remote backgrounds of their state's history. Yet the state is old in geologic years and is by no means new as a habitation of man. It has allurements for the anthropologist, archaeologist, and antiquarians generally. It occupies a substantial position in the research and literature concerning prehistoric peoples in the United States. It contains various vestigial evidences of the existence of primitive peoples and cultures within its bounds. So far as American Indians are concerned, it has been a state of rare attractions. Alabama also occupies an important place in fact and fable about explorations and colonization by European adventurers.

It has been definitely established that prehistoric people lived in Alabama. That they were widely dispersed over the state is revealed by the mounds of various sizes and shapes which they constructed. Excavations in these mounds have yielded much information about the cultural status of these primitive people, or peoples. The Moundville Park galaxy of mounds is one of the most impressive exhibitions of its kind in the entire country. Several hundred mound sites have been located in the Tennessee Valley. Excavations in some of the shell mounds in that area reveal the existence of a very primitive people; indeed they show stratigraphic evi-

¹ This paper was read as the presidential address before the Alabama Historical Association, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, April 7, 1951.

dence of the existence of several peoples, or progressive stages of the cultural development of the original people. These prehistoric peoples have been classed as Archaic, Copena, and Middle Mississippian by some archaeologists. Others have concluded that there were two prehistoric people in the Valley and have designated them as the Long Heads and the Round Heads, thus classifying them according to the contour of their skulls. The Long Heads, the more primitive of the two, were definitely behind the Round Heads in cultural attainment.

The Archaic people were a fishing and hunting people. They apparently did not participate in agriculture, knew nothing of pottery or flint working, made their spear points and knives of bone; and did not use the bow and arrow. The Copena people, so-called because they used copper and galena, were much farther advanced in the mechanic arts and were probably the first mound builders, engaging in the construction of burial mounds. The Middle Mississippian people built temple mounds and have been given their name because temple mounds were first studied in the middle region of the Mississippi Valley. The cultural status of these people, who may have absorbed the Copenas and the descendants of the Archaics, was about the same as that of the Indians when Caucasians came among them in the sixteenth century. Indeed, some archaeologists believe that they were the Indians who built the mounds at Moundville Park. Archaeological findings in other parts of the state conform to the general pattern of Tennessee Valley archaeology. There was, however, a rather intricate system of canals at the Battle Creek Mound near Mobile. One canal connecting Oyster Bay and Little Lagoon was nearly a mile long.

Alabamians whose pride is strong enough to reach back to prehistoric times will be gratified over the fact that archaeological research indicates that primitive Alabamians were

not surpassed in cultural development by their contemporaries in other parts of the United States. Evidences have been found of Hopewellian culture—a high type of ancient culture found in the Hopewell site in Ohio. These people lived in the period of cultural evolution when elaborate funeral ceremonies came into vogue. Let us hope that we shall know more about prehistoric times in Alabama. There are still many Sisyphean problems for the archaeologists. Notable among them are the old fort at De Soto Falls, the canal that afforded sheltered passage from the Gulf to the Mobile Delta, the remains of old dwellings near Mobile found by the French, and the site of Maubila from which De Soto ripped the prehistoric veil.

Indians were the first historic people in Alabama. In all parts of the state they roamed the forest solitudes and smoke rose from the eternal fires of their Council Houses. By treaty or by war in the unrecorded past they parcelled out the state among themselves, so that four large tribes or confederacies—the Creeks, Cherokees, Chicasaws, and Choctaws—each occupied a particular corner of the state. There were many smaller groups situated between the Big Four Nations and dominated by them.

Alabama is an alluring field to the Indianologist. Four of the largest confederacies north of Mexico occupied its soil. These Indians were further advanced culturally when white men came among them than most Indians outside Mexico, Central America, and Peru. In the Alabama woods occurred the whole tedious, upward struggle of the Indian from the status of a raw, prodigal sylvan to that of a peaceful, orderly man; from huntsman and trapper to cotton planter with elegant home, broad acres and Negro slaves to cultivate them. From savage to paleface culture, including agriculture, the mechanic arts, the fundamentals of formal education, and constitutional government was the span of progress of some Ala-

bama Indians before they retraced the trek of their ancestors across the Father of Waters.

Long before the Indians were removed from the state they engaged extensively in cotton production and domestic manufacture of cotton cloth. They also produced a variety of grains and engaged in livestock raising. The Federal government distributed gins and many spinning wheels, cards, and looms among them, but some of them made their own wheels and looms. It is said that in nearly every Cherokee family one or more persons could spin and weave. A large number of these Indians owned from two to ten Negro slaves, and some of them as many as thirty or more. Mission schools were maintained among the Indians, and some of the Cherokee girls were educated along with white girls in the old Huntsville Female Seminary.

Nowhere has the Indian demonstrated more valor or military prowess than in Alabama, as the battles of Maubila and Horseshoe Bend attest. The historian Bancroft has called the battle of Maubila the bloodiest battle ever fought between Indians and whites on the North American continent. Some of the greatest leaders in the annals of the Red Man lived in the Alabama woods. No state comes to mind that has had such a galaxy of Indian leaders as Alexander McGillivray, William Weatherford, General Pushmataha, General George Colbert, Sequoyah (the Alphabet Man) and Elias Boudinot, who published the *Cherokee Phoenix* in the English and Cherokee languages. And Tecumseh, the mighty Shawnee chieftain, was born of Alabama Indian parents. The cunning and diplomacy of Alexander McGillivray, the great Creek leader, is not equaled in the entire history of the American Indians. He played the United States and Spain—rival nations in the Gulf Coast country—against each other in such way as to extract from each of them high military titles and pecuniary rewards. For several years he kept these two

countries and his powerful merchant associates, William Panton and Alexander F. Leslie down at Pensacola, in a state of high tension. Meanwhile, he chastised Georgians for having confiscated his father's estates and for their encroachment upon Creek lands.

Alabama was also the home of the notorious John Haigue, commonly called "Savannah Jack," who according to his own testimony and that of reliable white men, was the most blood-thirsty Indian of all times and climes. And the massacre of men, women, and children by the Creek "Red Sticks" at Fort Mims in August, 1813, was the most ghastly spectacle in the history of the American frontier.

Alabama Indians contributed their part to Indian literature, that is, story telling and oratory. They told fascinating stories about the creation and about their own origin, and their persuasive stories about gold and silver and lead whetted keen the lust for opulence of white men who appeared among them. Many Alabamians with mineral rods in their hands and picks and spades on their shoulders have desecrated the Sabbath looking for fabled Indian treasures. Alabama woods resounded with many an eloquent Indian oration, the most notable of which was the great forensic battle between Tecumseh and Pushmataha on the eve of the War of 1812. For incisiveness, eloquence, and cunning, this debate is probably unsurpassed in the history of formal disputation, and it was of great significance in the relations between whites and reds in the cis-Mississippi Gulf Coast region.

Alabama is rich in the traditions of Indian love romances. There are many cliffs, according to tradition, from the tops of which love-sick squaws hurled themselves to the yawning depths below. There is one romance on record, that of Malle Francis, daughter of the Creek chief and prophet, Josiah Francis, that surpasses the far-famed Pocahontas adventure.

Alabama Indians contributed a vast deal to Indian history—

to the Indian's way of life and cultural progress, to his relations to his contemporaries, both red and white, and to the story of the removal of the Indians to the trans-Mississippi region. The way Alabama Indians adjusted themselves to the perplexities involved in contacts with the subjects of four white nations with different tongues and manners of living and with different objectives and conflicting interests, illustrates the adaptability of Indians. Much that is known today about the past of the Indians in North America has been revealed by the records of white men who sojourned among the Indians and by the contents of mounds and sarcophagi in Alabama. The state has been a storehouse of Indian history.

The Indians were in Alabama so long it is befitting that they should have made their permanent impress on the state. One finds it in mounds and burial grounds, in the names of towns and streams, in the ubiquitous arrow heads, and in the fact that Indian blood still courses the veins of some of our people. So significant were the Indians in the background and early history of the state, it is most appropriate that the state should have been named for the little tribe situated in the heart of it and bearing the most mellifluous name of all the tribes.

In the great drama of Western Europe's run around the globe many interesting stories have evolved or been fabricated. Alabama has a place in one of the first and most interesting of these stories. There is a fascinating legend about Prince Madoc (Madog) of Wales having reached the southeastern coast of the United States with a group of Welsh colonists about 1170. Certain things have been pointed out as indicating that he landed on Mobile Bay. The Madoc story of discovery, it is claimed, originated in the Bards' Songs and Priests' Latin in Wales. The Caraddoc manuscript, *Hostorie of Cambria*, translated and extended by Hum-

phrey Lloyd and David Powell and published in 1588, contains the story. Lloyd said that part of the history, "including Madoc's voyage," was compiled from collections kept in the Abbeys of Conway in North Wales and Strata Florida in South Wales. Richard Hakluyt in his famous books on voyages and discoveries gave Madoc credit for having discovered America in 1170 and for having made two other voyages to it. Other British geographers and historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries accepted the Madoc tradition. Robert Southey, after a careful study of Welsh legends and traditions, wrote his famous epic poem, *Madoc*.

The story of Madoc's discovery of America had reached Flanders by the middle of the thirteenth century. It spread to Spain where it was seriously regarded. The de Haro manuscript, called the *Anatomie de Spain*, gives Madoc credit for having discovered America. Spain conducted an extensive search for the Welsh settlers in the southeastern part of the present United States. Between 1557 and 1661 at least five Spanish expeditions were projected into the back country of what is now South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama in quest of the *gente blanc a cabella* (people with light hair). The legend was that Madoc planted a colony in what later became Spanish Florida. This is where Spain looked for the colonists. Some have been allured by the possibility that the Madoc colonists landed by Mobile Bay, and later were driven by coast Indians, mayhap the ancestors of the Indians who fought DeSoto at Maubila, up into the Cherokee country of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee. Cherokee tradition said as much.

In support of this theory the fact is cited that the French found remains of ancient dwellings near Mobile which they were not able to explain, and that Dog River possibly was named for Madoc, or Madawg, as his name was pronounced. In any case, long before the French came the Spanish had named the river *Rio del Perro*, or River of the Dog. Chief

Oconostata of the Cherokees told Governor John Sevier of Tennessee that his father and grandfathers said that a people who called themselves Welsh landed at Mobile and later built the old forts in the Cherokee country, after they had been driven away from the coast by Indians. He said the Cherokees drove the Welsh, who had books wrapped in skins, from their country. Archaeologists of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology have found "dim but persistent" traditions among the Cherokees of a white race that preceded them in the Tennessee country.

In support of the Welsh legend it is claimed that early travelers among the Cherokees and the Mandan Indians in the Missouri country, who were supposed to have absorbed the Welsh settlers, found that the natives both used and understood Welsh words. The Mandans were called white Indians. Archaeologists and historians have been impressed with old forts, particularly the fort at De Soto Falls in Alabama, Old Stone Fort in Tennessee, and Fort Mountain in Georgia. These forts exhibit engineering skill and a knowledge of the arts of war not possessed by Indians. It is believed by some students of these forts that they were built by pre-Columbian Europeans.

The evidence in support of the theory that Prince Madoc of Wales planted a colony of Welsh in Alabama during the twelfth century is too tenuous to be considered seriously. The theory that the Welsh landed somewhere in the region, however, was plausible enough to England for her to base her claim to the New World in part on it, and Spain sent several expeditions into the Cherokee country to verify it. Figment or fable, legend or myth, it places Alabama in the romantic literature of discovery and settlement in the New World by Europeans in the pre-Columbian period.

To Alabamians the charm of the story is not dimmed by the fact that Madoc was of royal stock and that four of his

brothers and a sister, Goeral—the first white woman to see the New World—journeyed to Alabama with him. It gives Alabama effulgence in the fiction of discovery that a bevy of royal folk from Wales, weary of the battle and blood of fratricidal war in their native land, and tired of the oppressions of Henry II of England, should have sailed the high seas to Alabama in quest of quiet and peace. We could easily agree that if they came to Alabama, the winds of the seas wafted them well.

Let us turn from speculations about Alabama's contact with European civilization in its prehistoric days to facts of recorded history. Between 1507 and 1530 Spanish explorers—Pineda, Narvaez, Vaca, Maldonado and Berares—explored the Gulf and Mobile Bay. Narvaez called the bay *Espirita Santa* because of its beauty.

In the spring of 1539 Hernando De Soto set out to explore his nebulous realm of Florida, the Gulf Coast region east of the Mississippi River. This expedition, one of the most important of all the Spanish exploring expeditions in the Western Hemisphere, entered northeast Alabama in the summer of 1540. De Soto swung down the Coosa and the Alabama and over to Maubila, where on October 18 he fought the memorable battle with the mighty warriors of Chief Tushkalusa. From Maubila he advanced up the Tombigbee, fighting a series of sharp engagements with the Indians, known as the Battle of Cabusto. The expedition spent more than five months in tortuous march over Indian trails in Alabama. On the eastern side of the state the noblemen appeared equipped as became Spanish men of war; they departed on the west side not much better attired than the Indians themselves. They had expected to find the Indians fat with gold, but instead they found them to be poor in this world's goods but rich in courage and in love of the woods that they roamed. After De Soto's experiences in Florida

the Spanish focused their attention mainly upon the West Indies, Mexico, and South America. In 1559, however, Don Tristan de Luna planted a settlement either on Mobile Bay or on Pensacola Bay. From this base he made a settlement in the upper part of Monroe County at the Indian town of Nanicapana which he called Santa Cruz. Since his men were unwilling to work and supplies did not arrive from home, de Luna had to abandon these projects. This ended, so far as is known, Spanish efforts to colonize in Alabama for more than two centuries.

The flags of five nations and of an independent state have flown over Alabama—those of Spain, France, Spain again, England, the United States, the independent state of Alabama, and Confederate States prevailed in the order named. Alabama has been the patrimony of three of the most celebrated royal houses of history. It is one of a few of our states where one can study first hand the colonial systems of the four leading colonizing powers of modern times.

Jamestown was founded ninety-five years before Mobile was established as a permanent settlement, but forty-eight years before Jamestown was founded the Spanish planted a temporary settlement on Alabama soil. Moreover, nearly a hundred years before Jamestown was established the Spanish explored Mobile Bay, and they sought in the back-country of the state the fabled Welsh colonists. Thus, the roots of the recorded history of Alabama extend back behind the founding of Jamestown to the beginning of European contacts with the New World.

Mobile was projected on a larger and more significant scale than Jamestown. When the French entered the continent, they entered by the great northern gateway to the interior. Later they founded Mobile to control the great southern gateway into the heart of the continent. It was to be a vital part of the French plan to control the continent.

From Mobile French colonization up the Mississippi basin was to be directed. When French settlements from the north and south met, the British would be confined to the region east of the mountains, and the French, with the help of Indians, could ultimately drive them out. The plan was magnificent. The fruition of it would depend in large degree upon the success of Mobile.

During the first twenty years of the French period, 1702-1763, Mobile was the capital of all French Louisiana. When the capital was moved to New Orleans, Mobile became the capital of the Mobile District of Louisiana and in that way more distinctly an Alabama capital for the remaining thirty years of the French period. During the French regime, Mobile had the unusual experience of running the gamut of all known forms of colonial administration. It advanced from royal colony to proprietary, to plantation, and back to royal again.

In the British period, 1763-1783, Alabama was divided between two provinces, the Province of British West Florida up to line $32^{\circ} 28'$, and the Province of Illinois north of this line. Thus the sites of Demopolis and Wetumpka were in the Province of Illinois while that of Montgomery was in the Province of West Florida. For several months after England took over West Florida from Spain, it was subjected to military control. Thus twice Alabamians have been under the military heel, first in 1763 and second from 1865 to 1875. The first military regime was at least brief and friendly; it did not feel called upon to punish, pillage and oppress, although it was taking over settlements of conquered foreigners.

During the Spanish period, 1783-1813, Alabama was divided between Spain and the United States. In 1795 the northern boundry of Spanish West Florida was fixed at line 31° —Ellicott's Line, it came to be known. Prior to this time Spain claimed up to line $32^{\circ} 28'$ and occupied the dis-

puted territory. Incidentally, the boundary dispute between the United States and Spain was aggravated by Georgia's claim to Alabama and Mississippi and her attempts to plant settlements in them in defiance of the United States, Spain, and the Indians.

For thirty years the southwestern part of Alabama was in a Spanish colony, while the rest of the state was in a colony of the United States. Along Ellicott's Line developed the first of our uproarious Spanish borderland controversies. There were many points of conflict between the Americans and the Spaniards, and brigandage and violence prevailed along the border line. Viewed from any standpoint the presence of the Spanish in West Florida was a menace and a nuisance to Americans. When Commandant Vincente Folch said that West Florida was as necessary to the Americans "as the drawer to the case," he expressed their view precisely. They played their cards for the drawer. The United States government did all it could through diplomatic channels to remove the Spanish. The diplomatic intrigues of the United States and Spain concerning West Florida, which the former claimed east to the Perdido River under the Louisiana Purchase, and the crafty scheming of France and England, as they had opportunity to put their oars in the troubled waters, produced a diplomatic skein so involved as to baffle understanding. The West Florida problem was one of the most perplexing and difficult with which the United States has had to deal. The way the American settlers above Ellicott's Line crushed the Spanish base was an example to those Americans who later coveted Texas and California. The technique was first to settle and then seize.

The fact should not be overlooked that East Florida and West Florida were English colonies from 1763 to 1783, and, therefore, England had fifteen colonies within the bounds of the present United States. It is a noteworthy fact also that

West Florida, of which Alabama was a part, was the first British colony established west of the Appalachian mountains. West Florida had an experience different from that of the so-called thirteen English colonies, in that England took it from two European nations and at the end of twenty years turned it back to one of them. Moreover, all of the English colonies except the Floridas were given their independence in 1783, but these two colonies, which did not revolt against England, were turned over to Spain. Spain did not surrender her claims to them until 1819, though the United States had seized West Florida by 1813.

The history of the Floridas was unique among the English continental colonies in that they did not rebel against England during the American Revolution. Agents of the Continental Congress distributed copies of the Declaration of Independence in Mobile and elsewhere and tried to persuade the colonists to revolt, but they remained loyal to King George III. Their decision was probably based in large measure on the Spanish menace over at New Orleans. But there were doubtless other factors. Many of the settlers had recently served in the British Army or Navy. These and others had not had time to become deeply rooted and to develop a strong feeling of localism. There was no recognized bond of common interests between themselves and the rebelling colonies, and the liberal land policy and trade connections with the old home country were weighty considerations. The loyal Floridas became havens of refuge for Tory outcasts during the Revolution. Not a few of these Tories settled along the rivers above Mobile. The expected British protection proved to be inadequate. When Spain entered the war against England, Bernardo Galvez, the young Governor of Spanish Louisiana, seized Natchez, Mobile (1780) and Pensacola with little difficulty before the British troops could arrive.

The old settlement at Mobile had other unusual experiences. It passed through the ordeal of three colonial systems, two religions, three official tongues, and three systems of jurisprudence. It became a menagerie of races and a babel of tongues—French, English, Spanish, Irish, Scotch, Dutch, American, Indian, and African. The original French settlers who did not leave at the end of the French period truly had many adjustments to make.

None of the old settlements in America appears to have been so cosmopolitan in make-up and in outlook as Mobile. It was less puritanical in philosophy and manner than most of the old colonial towns. Mobilians engaged freely in convivialities, parties, slave chants and folk songs, such as "We Won't Go Home Till Morning." It is said that the first concert given in America was given at Mobile in 1731. An Anglican clergyman assigned to Mobile during the English period found the old town so worldly that after one year's residence he shook the dust of his pious feet off against it and left it to its Bohemian ways.

Nor were the settlements founded up the river during the colonial period less mundane than Mobile. The homes of prominent frontiersmen, such as that of Sam Mims, were the scenes of frolic and revelry. A few of pious proclivity predicted that calamity would come to the Mims home, and so it did in the form of a revolting massacre in 1813. A Baptist minister who came to St. Stephens in 1790 to recall the wayward was rowed back across the river and promised a generous coat of tar and feathers if he returned. When Americans took over St. Stephens from the Spanish, they converted its church into a skin house. Peggy Dowe, wife of the famous itinerant Methodist minister, Lorenzo Dowe, complained of the high cost of meals and lodging which she and her husband had to pay while among the "Bigbee" settlers. The hospitality commonly associated with the frontier evi-

dently was not bestowed upon this ardent missionary and his gentle wife. And clearly, too, the tradition of bounteous plates of fried chicken for visiting Methodist ministers did not originate in this part of colonial Alabama.

Alabama has not been given due consideration in the history of exploration and colonization in the United States. It was involved in the earliest recorded activities of Europeans in this country, and it has also appeared, as we have seen, in the speculations about prehistoric contacts with Europe. Alabama was in permanent colonial status for one hundred and seventeen years. Its colonists had many experiences similar to those of other American colonists, but they had some that did not fit in the common pattern. They had, for example, little or no part in either the war that brought about the expulsion of the French from the continent or the American Revolution; and for thirty years the southern part of Alabama and Mississippi was in a Spanish colony, while the rest of these states was a colony of the United States. There is still a French and Spanish tang on Mobile. It might well be noted that the slave plantation system was introduced in Alabama by the French, and it was maintained by the British and the Spanish, but there are records of the manumission of slaves during the Spanish period.

Alabama had a long experience in pioneer life. Indeed, one may say that it was in frontier conditions for 150 years, and large areas, particularly Sand Mountain and the Wiregrass, were in pioneer conditions down to 1900. Frontier life in the state was in broad outlines like that of other American frontiers, but there were some important differences. There was the sequence of types of settlers common to the lower Southern states—Indian countrymen, herdsmen, and agriculturists (staple crop farmers) in the order named.

Alabama was well sprinkled with Indian countrymen, some of whose names in all parts of the state have been preserved.

Usually these men of adventure settled at strategic positions on trade routes, where they engaged in trading and ranching. Some of them, such as William Gregory, near Montgomery, had large herds of cattle which they grazed on pristine prairies that spread out before them. Unique in the history of American frontier was an Indian countrywoman, who, like Gregory, engaged in raising cattle and ponies in Montgomery County. This woman, "Milly," after the death of her husband, a British soldier who had settled on the Chattahoochee, moved into Montgomery County and married an Indian.

Many of the Indian countrymen were disreputable and exerted a bad influence on the Indians. Others were respectable, married Indian women, and established homes from which sprang some of the most notable half-breeds in frontier history. Not a few of these half-breeds played a conspicuous role in the early history of the state. Colonel Benjamin Hawkins knew many Indian countrymen in Alabama of diverse racial stock—French, Spanish, English, Dutch, Scotch, Irish and Hebrew. Their quality is indicated by his brief remarks about some of them:

Christopher Heide, a very honest, industrious man, forty years in the [Creek] nation, a native of Germany . . . Abram Mordecai, a Jew of bad character . . . Nicholas White, a native of Marseilles, an old trader, a good trader, thirty years in the nation . . . Michael Elhardt, an honest, industrious man, a Dutchman . . . Robert Walton, an active man, more attentive to his character than formerly . . . Frances Turgunt, an idle Frenchman . . . John McLeod, of bad character . . . James Clark, a Scotchman, a hard drinker . . . James O'Reilly, an Irishman who drinks hard . . . Townley Bruce of Maryland, a man very capable of business, excessively attached to strong drink. An enemy to truth and his own character . . . Charles Weatherford [father of William Weatherford], a man of infamous character; a dealer in stolen horses.

Incidentally, Mordecai, a Jew from Pennsylvania, was a trader and cotton gin builder who lost his boat, gin, and ears

in a love triangle with a married squaw and was left to the care of his Indian-Negro wife.

Kentucky had its Daniel Boone, but Alabama had its Sam Dale. Probably no man in American history was better equipped for the dangers and hardships of the frontier than this brawny, wily, and venturesome Irish-Virginian. General Claiborne, who knew him well, said that "for exhibitions of gigantic personal strength and great moral courage, his story is studded over with spirit-stirring incidents, unsurpassed in legend or history." In peace the Indians "felt for him the strongest veneration . . . and in war the name of '*Big Sam*' fell on the ear of the Seminole like that of Marius on the hords of the Cimbri." Dale's canoe fight with a band of Creek warriors was assuredly one of the most thrilling incidents in the history of the American frontier. It occurred on the morning of November 20, 1813, eighty days after the massacre of Ft. Mims which was the most appalling carnage in the annals of the American frontier. . . .

There is one positively unique chapter in the story of the settlement of Alabama. In the spring of 1817 a band of Napoleonic exiles settled at Demopolis. These colonists were a distinguished and educated people: "generals who had won laurels in the proudest fields of European valor and assisted in the de-thronement and coronation of monarchs over millions of subjects; and ladies who had figured in the voluptuous drawing rooms of St. Cloud, and glittered in the smiles and favor of Josephine and of Marie Antoinette." Their queer cabins with puncheon floors overlaid with Brussels carpets and silken draperies daintily arrayed at their wooden shutters, their books, guitars, parasols, ribbons, dainty shoes, gay clothes, social graces, and evenings of quality music and round dancing are not attributes of American frontier life. And what a strange and ironical sight, these accomplished soldiers under the former command of the world's greatest

military genius assembled for drill under a pioneer militia captain who did not know how to direct his troops through the simplest formation! No wonder General Henry l'Allemand remarked: "I have more ambition than can be gratified by the colony on the Tombigbee."

The next category of settlers was the herdsmen who generally brought their families with them. These men often pursued hunting and trapping as subsidiary enterprises. Cattle raising was begun in the Mobile area during the period of foreign occupation, but American pioneers extended it to all parts of the state. The mild climate, the abundance of water, the luscious grasses and the great variety of nut-bearing trees furnished most favorable conditions for cattle, sheep, and hog raising. Even in winter green rushes and reed that grew in profusion all over the state furnished ample pasturage.

The pastoral-folk had a paradise in Alabama until the farmers arrived and began to clear up and fence in large parts of the open range. With the blessings of Hermes they could not fail. But the farmers came and pushed the herdsmen before them on to unsettled parts. Some of them moved down into the piny woods section where they had sanctuary from the farmers. This section remained a cattle and hog country until about 1890. In 1850 Covington County, for example, with only about 9,000 acres under cultivation, had 824 horses and mules, 10,617 head of cattle, 1,306 sheep, and 18,272 swine. Even after the farmer came, livestock raising continued to be an important part of rural economy. The farmers had a few cattle and hogs, sometimes small herds of them, which grazed on the open unfenced lands of the community.

The American pioneer scene was enacted in Alabama with all and more than its accustomed excitement and glamor, especially between 1815 and 1830. Farmers and planters literally

poured into the state and along with them, of course, came business and professional men who in some cases improved their fortunes by speculating in farm and town-site lands. Rarely, if ever, on the American frontier was speculation in lands more buoyant than along the main river courses in Alabama. Prominent men, including governors and presidents, as individuals or as members of land companies, engaged in these speculations. The exuberance of the town planners is well illustrated by the fact that those who projected Gainesville, on the Tombigbee, expected it, or so they said, to become a greater city than Chicago. This was the boom period but not the beginning of land speculation in Alabama. At the outset of the British period in West Florida there was a rush for lands around Pensacola and Mobile. A company was formed in England for investment and land speculation in West Florida which included the names of Prime Minister Greenville, lords, and London merchants. Their Royal Highnesses, the Dukes of York and Cumberland, were patrons of the company. Smaller groups and individuals also speculated in choice lands. Between 1785 and 1800 some large American land companies operated in Alabama, and those of the notorious Yazoo group perpetrated some of the most audacious land scandals in the history of the American frontier.

Probably no state was more rapidly settled than Alabama between 1815 and 1830, except Oklahoma at a much later time. The Tennessee Valley had been advertised as "Happy Valley" and the Tombigbee-Alabama basin as the "Garden Spot of the World," and men of all walks of life, and by all means of travel from humble cart to planter's best equipage hurried into these blissful climes. In 1815 the population was about 25,000, mostly in Mobile and along the rivers above and around Huntsville. By 1820 the population had increased to about 128,000 and to 309,827 in 1830. Thirty-one

percent of the population in 1820 was slave and in 1830 slaves constituted thirty-eight percent of the total population.

There were other aspects of settlement in Alabama that did not conform to the general American pattern. Cotton planters and college-bred men and women had an active hand in pioneering in Alabama. Men of culture and slaves and men who had served the older states and the nation in high places had a conspicuous part in founding the state. General Thomas S. Woodard of Louisiana, who lived in Alabama from 1813 to 1841 said, "No State that has come into the Union since the old thirteen, at its early settlement, equaled Alabama as to intellect or large planting interest." Certainly, log-house aristocrats, men of wealth and culture and men of marked political and professional distinction were not generally to be found in frontier states.

It was 280 years from De Soto's conquering sword to President Monroe's official pen which consummated Alabama's admission into the Union. Nearly 150 years of this period are obscure, but the remaining 130 are studded with interesting incidents and dramatic situations. There are many challenges to those who are interested in colonial history, the American Indians' past, and the processes by which a white man's commonwealth was carved out of the raw forces of marvelous primeval forests.

Steamboats on the Coosa

By MARVIN B. SMALL

After the Treaty of New Echota, December 29, 1835, the hapless Cherokee Indians of Northeast Alabama were corralled like cattle and forced to take up the "trail of tears" to the distant West.¹ Close upon their dismissal, white settlers by the thousands swarmed into the beautiful and fertile Coosa River Valley. From Tennessee, Georgia, Kentucky, Virginia, the Carolinas they came mainly, but from the other states as well, and by 1840 prosperous plantations dotted the countryside in a wide, swinging curve from the headwaters of the Tallapoosa, across the Coosa, to the southernmost reaches of the Tennessee.

But the prosperous planters of the region faced at once the serious problem of getting their great cotton, corn and wheat crops to markets.

The so-called roads of the period were nothing more than trails of the crudest sort, following the line of least resistance, and extremely rough and crooked. There were no railroads, of course. Only the Coosa River afforded a means of transportation. Rafts, flatboats and keelboats, guided downstream with the current, were propelled upstream by oars and pushed by long poles manned by slaves, a back-breaking job, very slow and expensive. Because of shoals and rapids the best flatboats could not cover more than six or seven miles upstream per day. During the winter and early spring months, when the river was swollen, flatboats and rafts loaded with

¹ This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Association, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, April 7, 1951. It is based largely on the author's personal experiences and the reminiscences of Captain W. P. Lay, William M. Elliott, Mrs. Nena Kyle Elliott, Mrs. Hallie Alexander Rounsaville, and Quin McArver, and others, of Gadsden, Alabama, and Rome and Coosa, Georgia.

farm products were floated all the way to Mobile, where both boat and cargo were often converted into cash. The navigators would then make their ways back home on foot or horseback. But here again they encountered a long and tiresome journey, much of it through wild, unbroken country. At many places along the river where the current was swift and filled with treacherous rock formations, and there were many such places between Greensport (on the line between St. Clair and Benton, now Calhoun, counties) and Wetumpka, men made their livelihood before the coming of the steamboat piloting rafts and flatboats through dangerous stretches of the Coosa.

But the beautiful Coosa, which, it has been said, because of her circuitous course touched every farm in the Valley from Rome to Greensport, was ideal for steam navigation. Land distance between the two towns is just short of seventy-five miles, but by river it is approximately two hundred. But below Greensport—for about 142 miles down to Wetumpka—the treacherous shoals and falls made steamboat operation impossible. Above Greensport, on an average of every three miles, shoals and sandbars were encountered; Horseleg Shoals, six miles southwest of Rome; Yancey's Shoals, three miles east of Cedar Bluff; and Leota Shoals, two miles north-east of Greensport, were serious obstacles, when the crest of the Coosa was at low or even normal stage.

The first steamboat to ply the waters of the Coosa River was appropriately named the *Coosa*². On July 4, 1945 that gallant little steamer, Captain James Lafferty commanding, came 'round the bend below what is now Gadsden. The *Coosa* had been built at Cincinnati, had been steamed down Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans, through inland passages of the Gulf of Mexico to Mobile, and up the Mobile,

² George M. Battey, *A History of Rome and Floyd County* [Ga.] . . . 1540-1922 (Atlanta, 1922), p. 238.

Alabama and Coosa rivers to Wetumpka. At Wetumpka she had been taken apart and hauled piecemeal on heavy wagons drawn by oxen over wretched roads to Greensport, where she had been reassembled and made ready for the first journey. Evidently she was a very small boat and very crude. Whether or not she carried a small cannon to announce her presence as she steamed up the river, as was the custom of steamboats of those early days, is not known. But the fact that a steam-propelled boat was on the way upsteam brought settlers to the river from miles around. At Double Springs (now Gadsden), a tiny relay station on the stage line from Rome to Huntsville, a motley crowd from the mountains and valleys gathered to meet the boat. Many of them were clad in frontier garments, with caps of coonskin, the tail hanging down the back. The *Coosa* landed at Walker's Ferry (later, Hampton's Ferry and Ewing's Ferry, and now the place where River Street intersects the Coosa River). The steamer had a contract to carry the mail from Greensport to Rome, and on the sides of the engine house was painted *U. S. M. Coosa*. Since only a few of the assembled crowd could read and write, one very consequential and highly educated patriarch, Squire Bogan of Cedar Bluff, volunteered to give the assemblage the benefit of his learning. "Let's see" he said, "*U.S.M. usem, C double-o-s-a, Susie,—yes, boys I've got it! 'Usem Susie.'*" The name was not so inappropriate and by many of the inhabitants the *Coosa* was known by no other name for a long time. Planters up and down the river were quick to use steamboat transportation to haul their products to market and the traffic tendered the little *Coosa* was enormous. She could handle only a small fraction of it.

Steamboat building at once assumed large proportions and unheard-of profits were said to have been derived from their operation. Some of the early boats returned to their owners net profits equalling two or three times their costs in one

year. High earnings continued up to the outbreak of the War Between the States. Since freight rate regulations were unknown, boat operators were free to make their own rates and the planters were glad to pay the price. The day of the slow, expensive method of handling freight by raft and flat-boat was at an end.

In the early 1840's the railroad from Charleston to Atlanta was begun and by 1845 had connected those two cities. In 1851 the line was complete to Chattanooga, thus creating for the Coosa River Valley markets in Chattanooga, Atlanta, Charleston and Savannah. Rome became a great cotton market, and the Coosa River steamboats benefitted immeasurably by that city's rail connections.

A majority of Coosa River steamboats had model bows (that is, they were gracefully curved) and square sterns. With two exceptions all were stern-wheelers. The larger and finer boats averaged 150' length and 28' beam with perfectly flat bottoms to facilitate navigating in shallow water. They were equipped for pushing barges, which in some instances almost doubled their cargo handling capacity. They had special rigging for towing immense rafts of saw-logs upstream to lumber mills in Rome and Gadsden, and for threescore years the logging industry was the source of much revenue for the steamboats. The small steamers had square bows, enabling them to push small barges loaded with freight. These small boats were used in the upper reaches of the Oostanaula and Coosawattee above Rome. All boats handled passengers as well as freight. Mail was carried between Rome and Greensport, the boats making two round trips per week.

A number of the large steamboats had splendidly appointed staterooms. The lounge, fitted with easy chairs, settees and a piano, was located on the upper deck facing the bow. This was the gathering place of the first-class passengers on their way to Rome or to Gadsden on shopping expeditions. Fre-

quently, a fiddler would be on board and he and a pianist supplied music for dancing, as the graceful steamer made her way through the night, her bright lights reflecting on the water. The dining room served meals which cannot be duplicated today. Country produce of all kinds was abundant and could be bought at most reasonable prices. In addition, wild duck, goose and quail were common items on the menus and frequently venison would be served. Fish was abundant and cheap. Many passengers consisting of trappers, loggers and others desiring passage only would be accommodated on the lower deck not taken up by freight. They supplied their own meals and bedding. All the early boats used wood for fuel and the yards along the river were kept well supplied with cordwood by planters residing nearby. Oftimes, at night passengers on a remote landing would flag the boat with a torch made of rich pine. The pilot would reply with three blasts of the whistle, stop, take on the passengers and resume the journey.

During the War Between the States, on Sunday May 3, 1863, Rome was in a state of great excitement. John Wisdom arrived at night to warn the citizens that Colonel Streight and his raiders were headed for the city, intent on destroying it and the munitions factory located there. The steamers *Laura Moore*, *Alphfretta*, and *Cherokee* made a quick getaway, lest they fall into the hands of the Yankees. Later, these boats were active in transporting Confederate soldiers, Yankee prisoners, and supplies of the South to the railroad at Rome. Thus was the Coosa Valley able to furnish much of its production of food and clothing and iron for the armies of General Braxton Bragg and General Joseph E. Johnston.

General William T. Sherman, in a chase after General Joseph E. Johnston from Dalton to Resaca, sent General J. B. McPherson with the 14th and 16th Corps, U. S. Army, to invest Rome and capture the steamers *Laura Moore* and

Alphfretta then in port. They were badly needed to maintain his line of communication. Advance scouts planted artillery on the hill on which Shorter College is now located and on May 17, 1864 an artillery duel began with Rome's defenders across the river. The two steamers hastily raised steam; bales of cotton were stacked around the boilers and engine houses and pilot houses and the *Alphfretta*, Captain Cummins Lay at the wheel, steamed down the Coosa under cover of darkness, closely followed by the *Laura Moore*. But the muffled exhaust of the engines and sparks from the smokestacks were detected by the Yankees who opened fire on the steamers. Many solid shot from the cannon struck the two boats, but the bales of cotton saved them and they were able finally to reach Greensport, the foot of navigation on the Coosa. Here they remained, daily expecting capture by the Yankees. Heavy rains set in, however, raising the crest of the Coosa sufficiently to enable the two steamers to navigate the treacherous shoals, pass over the reefs downstream and reach Steamboat Island, near Wilsonville, where the *Alphfretta* was moored. The *Laura Moore* continued her journey and reached Mobile, where Captain Lay delivered her to the Confederate authorities. His feat in steering the *Laura Moore* through the dangerous rapids of the Coosa will doubtless stand as the most daring exploit ever attempted on any river in Alabama.³

Later the *Laura Moore* returned to Steamboat Island and tied up alongside the *Alphfretta* and at the conclusion of the war, Captain J. M. Elliott, Sr., who was the principal owner of the two boats, found both in good condition and, when protracted rains raised the river to high water, steamed them up the river to Rome.

After the War Between the States the Coosa River Valley, like the rest of the South, was prostrate. Steamboating was recovering slowly, but surely, however. In 1873 six boats

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 172-174.

plied the Coosa, bringing 30,000 bales of cotton to Rome in a single season. The steamer *Undine*, arriving at that time, listed as its cargo 357 bales of cotton, 40,000 shingles, 625 pelts, 50 cowhides, 50 baskets of poultry, 200 bushels of corn, 250 bags of wheat, and 27 passengers.⁴

Of the thirty-seven steamboats which plied the Coosa, the finest was the *Magnolia*. Close behind her was the *Sidney P. Smith*, Joel Marbable, John J. Seay, Clifford B. Seay and *Alabama*. The *Leota* also was a beautiful boat, but she was a government steamer used only in connection with construction work, building locks and dams and handling dredges for improving channels.

The most sensational event in the peacetime history of steamboating on the Coosa occurred in the middle 1870's and involved the *Magnolia* and the *Sidney P. Smith*. The latter had been built for the avowed purpose of capturing a part of the traffic enjoyed by the *Magnolia*. She was thirty feet shorter than her competitor and when she passed through shallow water she settled and her stern dragged the bottom. The *Magnolia* being an unusually long craft with corresponding width, glided over the shoals "like a moccasin." Competition between the two boats was fierce. Major W. P. Hollingsworth was scheduled to ship 150 bales of cotton from Gadsden to Rome, via the *Magnolia*. Landing in Gadsden late in the afternoon, the captain of the *Magnolia* told Capt. M. E. Pentecost, Sr., veteran steamboat accountant and agent at Gadsden, that he would drop down to Greensport and unload a large cargo destined to that landing, but would return next morning and pick up the Hollingsworth cotton. Upon his return the captain found that the *Sidney P. Smith* had taken it. Securing an order from Major Hollingsworth, the captain ordered full team ahead in an effort to overtake

⁴ Hughes Reynolds, *The Coosa River Valley from DeSoto to Hydroelectric Power* (Cynthiana, Ky., 1944), p. 110.

his competitor which had been gone more than two hours. Capt. Frank Benjamin, veteran engineer, crowded all the steam the boilers would stand, and the pilots scraped the willows in order to avoid bucking the current. About half way from Gadsden to Rome, the *Magnolia's* captain spied the lights of the *Smith* several miles upstream from Cedar Bluff. As the *Magnolia* pulled up below Sewell's Ferry, there was the *Smith*, tied up and her lights extinguished, while the deckhands wooded up—she had run out of fuel. The *Magnolia* came alongside the *Smith*, and her captain ordered the two boats lashed together and the cotton transferred. Just to guard against dire threats of the *Smith's* captain, a man on the upper deck of the *Magnolia*, armed with a double-barreled ten-gauge goose gun loaded with buckshot, kept close watch until the last bale of cotton had been transferred. The *Magnolia* continued on her way to Rome. On her next trip to Gadsden she was confronted by a Federal marshal, who arrested her captain and seized the boat, charging piracy. Bond was promptly furnished by Major Hollingsworth. The case was tried in the United States Court at Huntsville and, after a long legal battle, was decided in favor of the *Magnolia*.⁵

In the early 1880's companies operating steamboats built the first telephone line in the Coosa River Valley. It connected the principal landings with Rome as far as Centre. Steamers continued to carry mail to points along the river a few years after completion of the railroad from Rome to Attalla.

Coosa River steamboats were not only a large factor in the building of Rome and Gadsden, but they also added much to the enrichment of the lives of both the young and the old. During the summer and early autumn months a steamer was

⁵ Captain James M. Elliott, Jr., of the *Magnolia* used to notify his fiancée, Miss Nena Kyle, of his arrival in Gadsden by blowing the steamer's whistle. When the *Magnolia* was dismantled, Captain Elliott salvaged the whistle and used it later at his Elliott Car Works (Gadsden). It is now owned by members of the family.

often chartered for four or five days at a time, and the elite of Rome's society would sail to Greensport, dancing and feasting all the way. At Gadsden they disembarked for a dance at one of the hotels. On the return trip another stop was made and another dance, this time at Noccalula Falls. Old timers who recount those memorable trips speak in excited terms and their eyes sparkle. The larger churches of both Rome and Gadsden held Sunday School picnics on the steamers during the summer months, at which time business would come almost to a standstill and hundreds would turn out for a day on the Coosa. Then too, there were moonlight excursions—with always a good string band on board, usually a violin, guitar and a bass viol. Any man who has stood behind the great wheel of a river steamer as it glided down the current in the face of a full moon knows what it means to come under the spell of the Coosa.

The days of the sternwheelers on the Coosa River are gone. But the river may yet one day become an artery of commerce the like of which has never been known. Then, perhaps, Diesel-powered tugs will tow fleets of barges loaded with agricultural and steel products of the Coosa River Valley and deliver them to Mobile for forwarding to distant ports of the world. In return, they will bring ores for the furnaces, coffee and rare woods from the tropics and spices and rubber from the Far East. One looks forward with confidence to the future, hoping once again to see steamboats on the Coosa.

SOME NAMES FROM THE STEAMBOAT ANNALS OF COOSA RIVER

Capt. Francis Marion Coulter, dean of steamboat builders and pilots on the Coosa, was born in Freedom, Pa., March 6, 1831. He came to Rome in 1855, having been sent by A. L. Davis, Nashville, Tenn., to build a boat for Col. C. M. Pennington. In his letter of introduction dated June 27, 1855, Davis stated that young Coulter was employed for \$4 per day. At the outbreak of the War Between the

States, he enlisted as a private in the 1st Georgia Cavalry. Later he was commissioned a lieutenant. The *Rome Courier*, March 26, 1864, says: "Lieutenant Coulter, 1st Georgia Cavalry arrived in Rome yesterday. He has been a prisoner of war for six months at Johnson's Island." Capt. Coulter built more than a dozen beautiful boats during his lifetime. Practically all of the boats built at Rome were built by him, excepting the *Sidney P. Smith*, *Alphfretta*, *Laura Moore*, *Undine*, *Calhoun*, *Mary Carter*, *John J. Seay*, *Clifford B. Seay*, *Resaca*, *Connasauga*, and *Magnolia*, the finest and fastest steamboat ever to ply the waters of the Coosa. In 1859 he nearly lost his life in a fire which destroyed the *DeSoto*. He suffered a heart attack in the pilot house of the *Clifford B. Seay*, en route from Rome to Gadsden, and died in his cabin March 24, 1894. Miss Lillian Coulter, his daughter, owns the instruments he used in drawing boat plans, his bookcase, table and other pieces of furniture.

Capt. Herbert E. Coulter began his career on the Coosa as a pilot in 1865, and for more than fifty years was a familiar figure on the different steamers plying the Coosa and Oostanaula rivers. He was connected with the *John J. Seay*, *Clifford B. Seay*, *Hill City*, *Resaca*, *Dixie*, and *Alabama II*, and he was one of the most prominent and capable steamboaters on the rivers.

Capt. John P. Gould came to Rome from Savannah where he had been an officer on a vessel plying between Savannah and New York. In 1850 he engaged in the steamboat business and built one of the early boats on the Coosa. He purchased a plantation in Foster's Bend, the landing on which was known as Copperas Bluff. Frequently Mrs. Gould and one of her neighbor women, with their smaller children, would board the Captain's boat at his landing and spend several hours going around the bend on a pleasure trip. They would then disembark at Potash Landing on the opposite side of the bend and walk back home, hardly a mile.

Capt. George Harrison Gould was born March 29, 1849, the son of Capt. John P. Gould. Following in the footsteps of his father, he early became identified with the Coosa River. He was pilot on the *Magnolia*, *John J. Seay*, *Clifford B. Seay*, *Resaca*, *Willie C. Wagnon*, and *Dixie*. He was financially interested in the *Wagnon* and builder of the *Dixie*, and master of both. He died in Rome, March 13, 1912.

Capt. James M. Elliott, Sr., was born in 1825. He was a pioneer owner and operator of steamboats on the Coosa, being the principal owner of the *Alphfretta*, *Laura Moore*, *Magnolia*, *Hill City* and others.

He was also a pioneer in the manufacture of pig iron, having operated the Round Mountain and Cornwall furnaces. He died May 28, 1899.

Capt. James M. Elliott, Jr., was born November 12, 1854. At early age he became identified with boats owned and operated by his father. His first position was that of "mud clerk." Later, Capt. Elliott was a prominent lumberman in Texas. He built and operated the Elliott Car Works in Gadsden and was interested in the manufacture of cast iron soil pipe. He was a man of dynamic and pleasing personality. He died November 6, 1914.

Capt. William M. Elliott, son of Capt. J. M. Elliott, Sr., was born in 1862. Like his father and brother, he engaged in steamboating on the Coosa River immediately after being graduated from college. He was captain on the *Sidney P. Smith*, *Magnolia*, *Hill City* and other steamboats. After he left the river he became a bookkeeper for the Gadsden Iron Company and later was connected with the Round Mountain furnace. He then went west where he died at Zenith, Wash., in 1945.

Capt. E. G. La Follette was born at London, Tenn., July 16, 1848. He came to Gadsden when a young man and became identified with the steamboats plying the Coosa. He was a famous pilot and for more than fifty years was master and pilot of different boats, among them the *A. L. Crawford*, *Annie M.*, *Leota*, *Willie C. Wagnon*, and *Alabama II*. He also piloted the motor tug *Coosa*. Capt. La Follette suffered a heart attack while on duty in the pilot house of the *Leota* and died June 5, 1921.

Capt. William Patrick Lay was born in 1853, the son of Capt. Cummins Lay and a grandson of Capt. John Lay, pioneers in flatboat river transportation on the Coosa before the coming of the steamboats. Capt. William Patrick, a licensed pilot, was financially interested in the *Alabama II*. He is best known as the father of the Alabama Power Company and was its first president. His plan to produce hydroelectricity was copied not only by the United States but by the whole civilized world. Lay Dam on the Coosa stands as a monument to his achievements, and a tablet of enduring bronze proclaims him as benefactor of his fellow man.

Capt. Herbert Appleton Gould, the son of Capt. George H. Gould and grandson of Capt. John P. Gould, was born Oct. 29, 1878 and died Feb. 3, 1947. One of the most colorful of all the pilots and masters of Coosa River steamboats, he was familiar with every foot of the river from Rome to the foot of navigation. He was a stock-

holder, president, captain and pilot of the Oostanaula & Coosa River Steamboat Co. which operated the *Alabama II* between Rome and Gadsden. In 1916 he built the *Cherokee III*, the last commercial freight carrier on the Coosa. He was pilot of the *Leota* for a number of years, later being transferred to another boat on the Alabama River with headquarters at Selma, where he was supervisor of construction. For nearly fifty years he was intimately connected with the Coosa and Alabama rivers. He with his father and grandfather kept the Gould name on the Coosa for nearly a hundred years without losing even one week. No other family can claim such a record.

The South and The Democratic Process

By AVERY CRAVEN

In these days of Southern political revolt and ardent Northern demands for "fair employment" legislation, the historian of the American Civil War feels very much at home.¹ When he reads in a Northern newspaper that the South, in resisting President Truman's civil rights programs, is revealing a plantation psychology and fighting to maintain the "status quo" of a "decadent" and "out-moded social system" against the irrepressible sweep of progress, and that "states' rights is not the issue, and if it were, a higher law—the law of human decency—would supersede such doctrine," he is conscious of the fact that there is something strangely familiar about both words and attitudes.

Southern protests and Northern demands are, indeed, cast in patterns startlingly like those of Civil War days. Men talk of right and rights, emotions reach the level of bitterness, the wheels of legislation are clogged with filibustering, and political parties break into factions. Thus, when men are pressing civil rights as a moral and democratic obligation in ways that cause them to repeat the phrases of Sumner, Seward and Lincoln, and others are falling back on states' rights, repeating the words of Calhoun, Stephens and Davis; and when the Democratic party has been split into "regulars" and "Dixiecrats," there may be some value in going back to the earlier struggle where perspective is better and historical lessons are easier to read. Both situations represent something of the breakdown of the democratic process and as such have enduring significance.

¹ This paper in a somewhat modified form was read as the annual Phi Beta Kappa address, University of Alabama, May 2, 1950.

The most astonishing thing about the American system of government is that it works. Set up by men who distrusted and feared all government and made as rigid as possible by a written constitution, a balance of departments to check each other, and a division of power if not of sovereignty, this government has been asked to serve a people who have grown literally by the millions, spread widely over a vast and varied continent, and passed from a simple rural-agricultural order to the complexities of modern urban-finance and industrial capitalism. It has survived the selfish demands of sections, races, religions, economic groups and social interests and kept them all reasonably satisfied. Its story is, as a recent writer has stated, one of "obstruction, evasion, intolerable slowness; of bargains in place of principles, of pressure groups in place of policies, of self-interest and compromise." Yet it has worked—that is, it has worked with one glaring exception.

The secret of this success is not hard to find. It lies in the development of the American two-party system. How this system came into being and achieved its final form need not concern us now. Sufficient to say that through the national political party men from Maine and Louisiana, Massachusetts and Georgia, Illinois and Virginia were early enabled to work together and to develop a sense of loyalty to a frail organization that could endure heavy strain and outlast attachment to church or family. Pride in accomplishment and hopes for some political reward or economic gain somehow bound men together strongly enough to make them yield a reasonable amount of self-interest and principles and to work and shout and quarrel with their neighbors over almost meaningless platforms. To such party organizations the nation turned over the framing and carrying out of its policies, the technical part which fell to the men elected president by the successful party and to the Congress which accepted his

messages and through debate, log-rolling and compromise either passed enough legislation or prevented the passage of enough to enable the nation to grow and prosper.

The responsibility was heavy and it grew heavier in the years after 1815, when the new nation turned its back on Europe and faced the problems of the American continent. These were years of rapid growth and expansion, days when an industrial revolution came to the Northeast, when the cotton kingdom arose across the Lower South, and the kingdom of wheat and corn and hogs grew to giant size in the Old Northwest. Never had American institutions been asked to face and solve such problems as were presented. The political party, under pressure, grew to maturity and Democrats and Whigs struggled for control and the shaping of national policies to satisfy the new demands. Sectional interests clashed; sectional combinations formed and reformed for majority control; compromise became the order of the day. Few issues were permanently solved, but the nation blundered along, as political giants of the caliber of Calhoun, Webster, Benton and Clay argued, orated, plotted and compromised. No party between 1836 and 1856 was able to succeed itself and no president left office with untarnished reputation or with any chance for future political success. But the national parties held together and the nation seemed to be on its way to achieve its Manifest Destiny. The democratic process of party direction, rational discussion, reasonable tolerance, and ultimate yielding or compromise seemed to be working successfully. Men were willing to take half a loaf, even a few crumbs, if they could not get all they wanted for themselves and their section.

Then, for reasons which every American needs to understand, the process began to break down and in the end completely to fail. Third parties made their appearance. The Whigs went to pieces and ceased to exist. The Democrats

split into factions and a strictly sectional party, representing the interests and values of only one part of the nation, elected its candidate as president of the United States. Rational discussion of issues ended and bitter strife took its place; all efforts at compromise failed. State after state refused to abide by the results of the election and withdrew from the Union. Then force was substituted for reason and compromise and a civil war supplanted the democratic process. Whether that process has even yet been completely restored is something of a question. To understand the most tragic event in American history the weaknesses in the system which caused this failure of the democratic process must be sought. Such a search may have value not only in explaining the past, but also in understanding the present. Americans have not only to solve sectional problems; they must also secure enough of world organization and central efficiency to save them from the excesses of local freedom. That the American tragedy of Civil War may be understood most effectively it will be discussed under three headings: (I) two documents, (II) two states, and (III) two men.

(I) The two documents are the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The Continental Congress had on July 2, 1776 passed the Virginia Resolutions officially declaring our independence from Great Britain. In order to justify to the world the step they were about to take, the Congress had set a committee to work preparing such a statement. Two days later was reported a document, since known as the Declaration of Independence, containing two major points: a political philosophy justifying rebellion, and a statement of the grievances of the Colonies against the British King. The statement of grievances was not entirely sound from a historical point of view, and, strangely enough, it ignored the British Parliament against whose acts the framers had been largely complaining. It served its pur-

pose, however, and has been largely ignored, *even by scholars* who seek the facts as to the causes of the Revolution. The ringing phrases of the political philosophy, on the other hand, quickly became a part of the American heritage, a weapon to be used against tyranny of all kinds, a constant prod for making ideals and realities coincide. Though stated as a justification for rebellion against specific, immediate evils, it was phrased in such a way as to be universal—a philosophy of human rights, not just American colonial rights:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

This philosophy will be recognized as a part of the "Natural Rights" philosophy of the eighteenth century, first framed to overthrow the English King in 1688, but later becoming generally accepted doctrine through the writings of Isaac Newton. With him God had withdrawn from direct manipulation of the universe and left laws to rule and to give order. To these the physical world owed its harmony. Nor was the social order predestined to chaos. God, the creator of man, had also created a moral law for man's government, endowing man with reason and with conscience so as to comprehend it. Undergirding human society, as the basic rock supports the hills, was a moral order which was the abiding place of the eternal principles of truth and righteousness. There was, then, a right and wrong in social things. There was a good society and a bad society. Just men knew good.

It was the intent of their laws, of their institutions, of their constitutions to approximate the moral law and order. If they fell short, then *higher law* was still there and and it was man's duty to obey it. Conduct became a matter of conscience rather than obedience to existing law. Social justice became an obligation and the existence of conditions, which reason and conscience condemned, was a matter of concern and action. The fight for social justice became a part of the eternal struggle between right and wrong. To secure the equality of all men, to see that they secured their unalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness was a moral obligation. And all just men knew by means of their reason and their consciences exactly what each of these things meant.

But out of the revolutionary thinking of the framers of the Declaration there came another idea, and another document. In resisting England and the acts of Parliament, they assumed (and they talked about it everywhere except in the Declaration of Independence) that they were struggling for their rights as Englishmen. They assumed also that there was a body of English precedent, a set of English documents which guaranteed to Englishmen everywhere and at all time certain rights and certain protection. Some spoke of these as though they formed a British Constitution which was a bulwark against infringement on their rights, and that the form of government, the relations of different parts of it to other parts, its way of working, were fixed by practice. That gave stability, permanency, to the forms of government. When independence brought the need for a government, they wrote the terms in their Articles of Confederation and, when this proved inadequate, they framed their Constitution, describing machinery, functions, and drawing lines between the powers of different departments, the states and the nation. The document placed limits on agents, limits on the central

government, and limits on the states. It was planned as a bulwark against encroachments of all kinds. Behind its phrases men and states would be secure. It was destined to implement the democratic process as well as to protect men's rights under the democratic process. And since the Fathers who drew it up were *just* men, men who gave full play to their reasons and their consciences, it could be assumed that the grants and restrictions which the Constitution contained were also *just*. It, too, approximated the great moral law that lay behind society!

Here were two fundamental American documents—the one framed to establish a government, the other to justify a revolution against a government. The one protected society from disorders and secured the interests and rights of the people from the whims and passions of those who might wish to destroy them; the other talked of the abstract rights of human beings that stood above governments, rights as vague as *liberty* and the pursuit of *happiness*, things that grow and change almost constantly. One looked backward, the other forward.

What would happen one day, if some rights protected by one good American document came in conflict with the rights guaranteed by the other? Suppose one group of Americans appealed to one document to prove and protect their interests and rights, and another group appealed to the other? If the law of the land as embodied in the Constitution did not fit some men's reasons and conscience, should the Constitution be burned in favor of a higher law? Or should they call the Declaration of Independence mere glittering generalities, both false and foolish? The time would come when both these things would be done.

(II) The two states that most effectively fit into this discussion are Georgia and Illinois.

Georgia is the largest state east of the Mississippi River. With an area of over 59,000 square miles, it stretches some 400 miles from the mountains to the sea. In the middle period of American life it was a state of three distinct sections: North Georgia, South Georgia, Middle Georgia. Physically, it is the watershed between the Old South and the Lower South. Some of its streams run to the Atlantic and some to the Gulf. And in history as well as in geography it has been a keystone wedge linking the older Atlantic coastal South with the newer South along the Gulf. Georgia is a young state, the last of the thirteen colonies. In 1830 its interior was a raw frontier where people were defying the central government in dealing with the savages and forcing the first national Indian policy. It was a land of gold rushes, of cattle days, of frontier farmers, and up to 1860 there was always some corner in Georgia which nurtured the pioneer.

Georgia was, moreover, a cosmopolitan state. Its people were English, Irish, Scotch, German, and Jewish. Some had come in an early day as poor folk out of debtor prisons and some were of the better English middle-class. They lived at Savannah on the coast. Then there had drifted in from as far north as Pennsylvania the lesser people, America's great frontiersmen, Scotch-Irish, Germans, Welsh and English, who settled in the back country, in the mountains and in the Piedmont region above the fall-line. Among these varied peoples, religious sects were as plentiful as nationalities—some were Episcopalians, who went to heaven the gentlemen's way; then there were Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Lutherans, Christians, Universalists, Jews, and Catholics who soon made Savannah and Augusta their strongest centers outside of Louisiana.

Georgia's economic life was at all times diversified and bal-

anced. With rice and cotton as staples there soon developed in Georgia a plantation life like that of the Old South. In 1860 the state had more plantations containing above 1,000 acres than any other Southern state and it stood second to Virginia in number of slaves and slave-owners. Yet it was, in fact, a small man's paradise. There were 31,000 farms of less than 100 acres, as against 23,000 of more, and of this number, 19,000 were between 100 and 500. Of nearly 600,000 white people in 1860, only 41,000 families owned slaves, and, of these, 66 per cent owned less than ten. It was, in the main, a rural state, yet it was making more rapid strides toward cities and industry than any other in its section. Olmstead, the New York traveler, called it the "Yankee State of the South;" a Virginian called it "The New England of the South." In 1850 Georgia was third largest producer of cotton and the second largest producer of rice in the nation. The state led the Lower South in corn, wheat, oats and rye production and the whole section in cattle. Thus, it rivaled the Deep South in the staples and the border states in general crops. In addition, between 1840 and 1850 Georgia had the greatest relative increase of any state in the Union in the value of manufactured cotton goods and was surpassed in absolute increase only by Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Its iron industry was making giant strides. In railroad mileage it ranked fifth in the nation.

No wonder Georgia's representatives in Congress were national figures, playing more important roles than those from any other Southern state. No wonder that in every political crisis all Southerners waited to see what Georgia would do and then followed suit. No wonder that in 1860 the Confederacy should consider two different Georgians for the presidency and finally choose one for the vice-

presidency. No wonder the Democratic candidate from Illinois should have a Georgian as his vice-presidential candidate.

Illinois, our second state, was also large. With an area of something over 56,000 square miles, it too, stretches 400 miles from north to south. Its northern border is in line with New York and southern New England, and its southern border is farther south than Richmond, Virginia. It, too, was a state of sections in this period—a lake region with the city of Chicago as its center, Egypt in the south along the Ohio, and a middle border between these extremes. Some of its drainage reaches the Atlantic through the St. Lawrence and some goes south down the Mississippi to the Gulf. Its trade up to 1860 followed the same divided lines. It was a young state in 1830. Its people were still fighting Indians, the Black Hawk War giving young men like Lincoln military experience. It was a state where the mining industry partly brought the Indian troubles and where Turner says that the mining camp pattern of later days was set.

It, too, was a highly cosmopolitan state. Its first settlers had come from the upland South—North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky. They were folks who had drifted down from Pennsylvania and then turned west (instead of going on to Georgia) through Cumberland Gap. Others had come up the New, down the Kanawah, and then down the Ohio to Illinois. To these had soon been added Englishmen, Scotchmen, Welsh, Germans. In religion these peoples were as varied as they were in origins—Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Mennonites, Quakers. And then along the lakes, after 1830, New Englanders had come, a blend soon to be joined by Germans and Irish directly from the old world, many of them Catholics. Illinois was a state which for a time accepted a modified form of slavery, whose constitution of 1848 forbade free Negroes, and whose legislature

in 1853 provided fines for entering and compulsory labor, if fines were not paid. All this was reaffirmed in the constitution of 1862.

Like Georgia, Illinois was a rural state, raising corn, wheat, oats, and rye and hogs and cattle. Quickly it rose to high rank in all of these lines. In 1860 it led the nation in the production of corn and wheat. Industry and railroads also came in the same period and by 1860 Chicago alone had 469 manufacturing establishments. It was already the railway center of the West.

No wonder that Illinois congressmen were national figures, that Stephen A. Douglas was recognized as the outstanding young Democrat of the nation. And no wonder that in 1860 a man from Illinois would become president of the United States and that his rival on the opposing ticket would be a fellow citizen.

(III) The two men that invite comparison are Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia and Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.

Alexander H. Stephens was born of a poor family that had drifted down to Georgia from Pennsylvania in frontier days. His own mother died, as did so many frontier mothers, when Alex was a child, and his rearing fell to a stepmother. The farm on which they lived in North Georgia was poor and the boy's schooling was often neglected for work in the fields. Alex was a frail and unmercifully homely child. Never in his life did he weigh over ninety-five pounds. His skin was stretched tightly over an angular skull and an unruly shock of tousled hair added to his impish appearance. All his life he was embarrassed by being taken for a boy and strangers who came to see the statesman usually stood aghast at his appearance, able to utter only such remarks as, "Good God, it isn't possible."

Early he showed a thirst for reading. Often at night he read borrowed books before the blazing fireplace or the light

from a pine knot. Charity alone enabled him to attend an academy and then to go to college, always with the idea of becoming a preacher. But once out of college he read law in the office of an attorney and settled down in the little town of Crawfordville, near the center of Georgia, to practice. In a state where the Democrats usually dominated, Alex soon became a Whig, but by his personal worth he won his way to the state legislature and then to Congress. There, in the 1840's, he met another Whig, also a congressman, a homely man from Illinois—named Abe. And the two young men became friends.

Abe Lincoln's ancestors—like Alex Stephens'—had drifted out of Pennsylvania, south and west, to Kentucky, to Indiana and finally to Illinois. His own mother had died when he was a child, and his raising fell to a stepmother. Their lands were poor and the boy secured little of schooling because the farm required his help. He was an unmercifully homely person, tall, thin, ungainly, with a great shock of hair that only added to his grotesqueness. All his life his appearance was a matter of comment, and he told the story of the man who threatened to shoot him once because he had promised to kill anyone uglier than himself.

Abe early showed a thirst for reading, much of which was done from borrowed books before the fireplace or by the light of a pine knot. He read law, beginning his practice in Springfield, near the center of the state. He became a Whig, went to the legislature and then, in the 1840's, to Congress.

When Alexander Stephens of Georgia and Abraham Lincoln of Illinois met in 1844, they were both ardent Whigs. Both had been loyal supporters of Henry Clay and they were in complete harmony on the major issues of the day—on the tariff, internal improvements, Texas, the possible war with Mexico, and even on slavery and the Negro. On May 7, 1844, Stephens had risen in Congress to support the protective

tariff. He "piled it down upon them for an hour." He came from a section, he declared, which had been said to be robbed by the protective system. He would show that it had no such effect. He was prepared to show that instead of being for the establishment of free trade, one of the main objects of the Constitution was the protection of the country's industry.

Lincoln was of the same opinion.

In June, 1844, Stephens had drawn resolutions and presented them to the Georgia Whig convention favoring the postponement of the annexation of Texas. When it came, however, both he and Lincoln accepted it as their sections did. But war with Mexico and the acquisition of territory from Mexico? Never. As Stephens' latest biographer says, ". . . he opposed the Mexican war with a bitterness and an intensity so extreme as to seem to derive from some other source than a simple hatred of unjust and aggressive warfare." When President Polk said war existed, Stephens refused to vote, calling it a war of aggression: he would have nothing to do with it as a war for territorial gain. "Fields of blood and carnage may make men brave and heroic," he said, "but seldom tend to make nations either good, virtuous or great."

On January 22, 1847, Stephens presented resolutions expressing a wish for an honorable peace, declaring that the war was not being waged for conquest or the acquisition of territory. Again, on February 2, he spoke in the same vein. His colleague, Lincoln, spellbound, wrote to Herndon, his law partner, "Mr. Stephens of Georgia, a little, slim, pale-faced consumptive man, with a voice like Logan's, has just concluded the very best speech of an hour's length I ever heard. My old, withered, dry eyes are full of tears yet." Speaking against the Texas annexation Stephens had said: "I am no defender of slavery in the abstract." Only "stern

necessity" persuaded him to accept it in the concrete, he had added. "If the annexation of Texas were for the sole purpose of extending slavery . . . , I should oppose it."

Again the Georgian was bespeaking the mind of the man from Illinois. The 1848 constitution of Illinois, ratified by a large majority, prohibited free Negroes from entering the state, and the legislature gave it effect by providing fines for entering, and for compulsory labor if the fines were not paid. Lincoln, in the debate with Douglas as late of 1858, declared:

I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch, as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

He was opposed to holding men in bondage as an abstract proposition, just as was Stephens, but in the concrete, he confessed that, "if all earthly power were given" him, he "should not know what to do as to the existing institution."

Thus, a decade before the Civil War Abraham Lincoln and Alexander Stephens, the Northerner and the Southerner, stood together as Whigs, accepting the Compromise of 1850 as a permanent settlement of all the issues which divided man and sections, and which threatened the unity of the nation. Ten short years later Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, was struggling to save the Union from destruction, and Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States of America, was struggling to establish an independent nation. The Whig party in which they had

worked together was dead and gone; the Democrats had followed the same course. Soon, regiments of soldiers from Illinois would be marching across Georgia on their destructive way to the sea. The democratic process of discussion, reason, and compromise had been completely abandoned for a resort to arms. A nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal seemed about to perish from the face of the earth.

The significant fact to citizens of a democracy is that each side in the tragic struggle turned to one of the fundamental American documents to justify its position and the course it had taken. Men of the South asked for nothing but their rights as guaranteed by the Constitution; men of the North asked only that the great ideals embodied in the Declaration of Independence be given a fuller chance.

Behind each appeal, of course, lay interests of material and political nature. By means of control of the Democratic party and an appeal to the Constitution, the South had prevented the passage of liberal land legislation and the enactment of laws for the building of internal improvements so essential to the growth of the free West. It had also checked the protective tariff program and demanded the right to carry the institution of Negro slavery into the vast territories acquired from Mexico. So dangerous to Northern interests and values had this become that William Lloyd Garrison and his friends had taken the Constitution out and burned it as a Covenant with Hell.

On the other hand, Northern insistence that *freedom* was a *national* thing and that slavery violated the *moral obligations* imposed by the Declaration of Independence struck both at a huge Southern property interest and at the very corner-stone of its social structure. The total disregard of the constitution by a constant reference to a "*higher law*" was even worse. If guaranteed rights were to yield to the

moral law, then, indeed, there was no security, no stability! Even the decisions of the Supreme Court were useless! Rights and ideals and values based on good American documents were at stake, things for which men fight and die, but never surrender. The South was thus forced to rebel against that document, the Declaration of Independence, which alone justifies rebellion! They called its assertions mere glittering generalities, self-evident lies. The North, on the other hand, arose to the defense of a Union based on that Constitution which it rejected in favor of a higher law! The democratic process ceased to function. Civil war took its place.

How completely the struggle between North and South had been reduced to a matter of *right* versus *rights*, as embodied in the Constitution and in the Declaration of Independence, is clearly revealed in the words of their leaders. Throughout the South was heard eternally the word "*Constitution*." "We invoke the spirit of the *Constitution*, and claim its guarantees," said the resolutions of the Nashville Convention. "We will stand by the right; we will take the *Constitution*; we will defend it by the sword with the halter around our necks," avowed Georgia's Robert Toombs in the Senate. "The South should never yield one atom of her full, just, and equal right under the *Constitution*," wrote Henry L. Berguin. "If it be true—that there is a large majority of the people of the North who are unwilling to stand by the *Constitution* guarantees," spoke Alexander H. Stephens, "I, for one am for tearing asunder every bond that binds us together . . . Any people capable of defending themselves, who would continue their allegiance to a government which should deny to them a clear, unquestionable, *Constitutional* right of the magnitude and importance of this to the people of the South, would deserve to be stigmatized as poltroons." Closing this great speech, the one Lincoln wanted to read, were these words:

We [of the South] are pledged to maintain the *Constitution*. Whatever fate is to befall this country, let it never be laid to the charge of the people of the South,—that we were untrue to our national engagements. Let the fault and the wrong rest upon others. If all our hopes are blasted, if the Republic is to go down, let us be found to the last moment standing on the deck with the *Constitution* of the United States waving over our heads. Let the fanatics of the North break the *Constitution*, if such is their fell purpose . . . but let not the South . . . be the ones to commit the aggression.

Jefferson Davis was more explicit:

You of the North have among you politicians of a philosophic turn [he said] who preach a higher morality. . . . They say, it is true the *Constitution* dictates this, the Bible inculcates that; but there is a higher law than those, and they call upon you to obey that higher law of which they are the inspired givers. Men who are traitors to the compact of their fathers—men who have perjured the oaths they have themselves taken . . . these are the moral law-givers who proclaim a higher law than the Bible, the *Constitution*, and laws of the land.

Abraham Lincoln and his friends in the North were equally insistent on the *moral* issue at stake. To Lincoln it was all a “part of the eternal struggle between *right and wrong*,” a struggle, as he said,

for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the path of laudable pursuit for all; to afford *all* an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life.

He would save the Union, but save it because it was Earth’s great experiment in democracy. “All honor to Jefferson,” he wrote, “to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all time . . .” The only thing that had kept this nation together, he insisted, was

. . . that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

Secretary of State Seward was more concrete and to the point:

The abstractions of human rights, [he said] are the only permanent foundations of society . . . I know that there are laws of various sorts which regulate the conduct of men. There are Constitutions and statutes, codes merchantile and codes civil; but when we are legislating for states . . . all these laws must be brought to the standard of the laws of God, and must be tried by that standard, and must stand or fall by it.

And as to the South and the Constitution, he merely quoted Algernon Sidney:

. . . if it be said that every nation ought . . . to follow their own constitutions, we are at an end of our controversies; for they ought not to be followed, unless they are rightly made; they cannot be rightly made if they are contrary to the universal law of God and nature.

And so a nation drifted into four long, bloody years of civil war with each side certain of the eternal rightness of its position as supported by an equally good American document. And it was the South's greatest preacher who proclaimed it a conflict "not merely between abolitionists and slaveholders, but between atheists, socialists, communists, red republicians, jacobins, on the one side, and the friends of order and regulated freedom on the other."

The startling fact revealed by this story is that while the two-party democratic process in America works quite satisfactorily in dealing with most problems in a land of sections, it breaks down as issues involving morals or the basic structure of society arise. Men and regions as much alike as Stephens and Lincoln or Georgia and Illinois lose their ability to dis-

cuss, compromise, and tolerate, when their way of life is threatened. Appeal is then made to the basic American documents which are supposed to give strength and authority to positions taken. Political parties disintegrate. Talk drifts to morals and legal rights. Compromise gives way to rebellion. Discussion yields to force. Differences become more important than likenesses and "the grapes of wrath" yield their "vintage."

The question, therefore, in such cases is simply one of physical or numerical strength with which to back one's convictions. Sometimes wisdom is on the side of dropping moral and legal attitudes, in so far as they have blocked the democratic process, and of facing concrete problems in as practical a way as possible. That was done in 1850. On the other hand there are times when progress or the sound evolution of society requires of men that they stand by their guns and perish for the sake of a cause. Might does not always make right and, somehow, the democratic process relies only on majorities which may have "might" but may not always be "right." That is the dilemma of democracy.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Alabama Historical Association

By D. HUGH DARDEN

On April 6 and 7, 1951 the fourth annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Association was held in Auburn under the sponsorship of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute. In spite of the frequent showers a total of 265 persons were present out of a total membership of 533, and an estimated 100 others who had registered in advance failed to arrive because of inclement weather. An excellent program was presented under the capable direction of Dr. Frank L. Owsley, University of Alabama, Dr. Gordon T. Chappell, Huntingdon College, and Mr. Rucker Agee, Birmingham. This program coupled with the arrangements of the committee under Dr. Alfred W. Reynolds and Mr. Louis Brackeen, both of Auburn, made the fourth annual meeting an outstanding success.

At the first session, held on Friday evening in Langdon Hall, Dr. Ralph Draughon, president of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, addressed a warm welcome to the members of the Association, and Dr. A. B. Moore, dean of the Graduate School, University of Alabama, and president of the Association, responded on behalf of the membership. An interesting program was then presented with Dr. John Caldwell, president of Alabama College, Montevallo, presiding. The first of two papers was presented by Dr. W. T. Jordan, Florida State University, Tallahassee, and dealt with the organization and work of county agricultural societies in

Alabama prior to 1860. It was pointed out by Jordan that these societies played significant roles in the development of the state, holding fairs, publishing a state journal, *The Cotton Planter*, and trying to achieve a diversified and balanced agricultural program. Their work was cut short by the War Between the States, but Jordan raised the question as to whether the state was not already by 1860 leaving an age when cotton was king, having found old systems and practices inadequate.

The second paper of the evening, presented by Mr. P. O. Davis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, showed the importance of science in the agricultural life of the state during the past century. The opposition of the slave-owning South to Federal aid for the establishment of agricultural colleges disappeared after 1865. Then began the organization of the land-grant schools and colleges devoted to expanding and improving farms. Davis then traced the contributions of these schools and showed their importance to the continued growth of the state's agricultural program.

The morning assembly on Saturday was presided over by President Moore. Mr. Hill Ferguson, Birmingham, presented collections of the music of Daisy Rowley, an Alabama musician, to the libraries of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, the University of Alabama, Alabama College, Huntingdon College, and to the Birmingham Public Library and the Department of Archives and History. This morning assembly then reorganized into three sessions.

Judge Jack Coley, Dadeville, presided over one of the sessions at which Professor Richebourg G. McWilliams, Birmingham-Southern College, read a paper on Jean Penicaut, French pioneer in the Alabama area. This excellent paper dealt not only with the career of the carpenter from La Rochelle, but also with his writing. According to McWilliams, Penicaut might be called the first historian of the Ala-

bama area, although his work is perhaps of more value as literature than as history.

In a second paper of this session Mr. William H. Brantley, Birmingham, dealt with the career of Henry Hitchcock of Mobile. Arriving in Mobile in 1816 a penniless young man, Hitchcock had by 1837 made and lost a fortune of two million dollars. His activities as a lawyer, delegate to the constitutional convention of 1819, real estate man, and finally chief justice of Alabama's Supreme Court portrayed Hitchcock as a man of many talents and amazing ability. In spite of the loss of his fortune in the 1837 panic he was by 1839, the time of his death, again becoming a wealthy man, thus providing Brantley with the idea that Hitchcock was Alabama's first big business man.

At another of the Saturday morning sessions, Mr. Jack Nelms, Selma, presiding, Dr. Gordon T. Chappell, Huntingdon College, outlined the pattern of development of North Alabama towns. Chappell found a general indication that early towns were planned carefully by either the government or private companies, and the planning was in many instances quite detailed. This pattern, similar to those of New England and the tidewater areas of the Old South, differed from these mainly in that it was motivated by profit in Alabama.

Miss Lucille Griffith, Alabama College, gave at this same session a paper on Mrs. A. F. Hopkins and her work as superintendent of the Alabama State Military Hospitals in and around Richmond during the War Between the States. Not only did Miss Griffith indicate Mrs. Hopkin's work, but this work as shown in its relation to the over-all picture of the Confederate and Alabama Hospitals as well.

The third morning session on Saturday was presided over by Mr. Henry F. Arnold, Cullman. In the first of two papers presented, Mr. Marvin B. Small, Gadsden, detailed the role

of the river steamboats in the opening and settlement of the Coosa River Valley from 1835 to the displacement of these boats by the railroads. An interesting album of photographs of some of these steamboats, their captains, pilots, and builders, was presented to the State Department of Archives and History by Small.

A second paper was given by Miss Frances Roberts, Huntsville, on the career of William Manning Lowe, reformer and leader of the Greenback Movement in Alabama from 1878 to 1882. The influence of Lowe and his idealist followers in gaining much needed reforms in Alabama was capably pointed out.

Dr. John Gallalee, president of the University of Alabama, presided at the luncheon session on Saturday. At this session Mr. Hill Ferguson presented an historic marker to the host institution, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, on behalf of the Alabama Historical Association. Acceptance of the plaque was made for the Institute by President Ralph Draughon.

A short business meeting for presentation of committee reports followed an excellent luncheon. Mr. Allen Rushton, Birmingham, reported for the Committee on Membership, tracing the rapid growth of the Association from its beginning in 1947 with thirty-seven members and indicating the desirability of increased representation in some counties.

The report of the Treasurer, Miss Maud McLure Kelley, Montgomery, showed the financial affairs of the Association to be in good order.

Dr. W. Stanley Hoole, University of Alabama, editor of *The Alabama Review*, gave an encouraging report, stating that the journal was now subscribed for in thirty-five states and that he had on hand several manuscripts suitable for publication.

Decatur was chosen by the Committee on Time and Place

for the next meeting, and Dr. Malcolm C. McMillan, Auburn, suggested that dates for this meeting be announced later. [April 18-19, 1952 have since been selected. — Ed.] Dr. George R. Stuart, Birmingham-Southern College, submitted an informal report for the committee on Resolutions, incorporating appropriate thanks to the host, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, and to the officers and committees of the association. The report of the Committee on Nominations was given by Mr. Peter A. Brannon, Montgomery: for President, Mr. Rucker Agee, Birmingham; Vice-President, Dr. Ralph Draughon, Auburn; Secretary, Mr. James F. Sulzby, Jr., Birmingham; Treasurer, Miss Maud McLure Kelly, Montgomery; and William H. Brantley, Mrs. H. H. Wefel, Allen Rushton, Joe Woodward, George R. Stuart, Jack Nelms, William Jenkins, William P. Dale, Hugh Cardon, Miss Frances Roberts, Robert Pitts, W. Stanley Hoole, and James B. McMillan for the Executive Committee. All reports and resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the new officers then expressed their appreciation for the honor conferred upon them.

Following the business meeting, Dr. A. B. Moore, president of the Association, delivered his address, entitled, "Rummaging in Alabama's Background." In highly interesting and entertaining fashion he indicated many phases in Alabama's history which could be more thoroughly explored, and in an inspiring manner suggested that this needed research be undertaken so that a clearer picture of the state's role in the nation could be obtained.

On Saturday afternoon two sections met for presentation of papers. At one of these sections Mr. Wallace Malone, Dothan, presided. A paper dealing with the De Luna colonizing efforts of 1559-61 was given by Mr. N. H. Holmes of Mobile. Holmes indicated that the colony was located on Pensacola rather than Mobile Bay, and pointed out that his

research revealed De Luna as a poor leader, a theory which seems to account in some measure for the failure of the venture.

Another section on Saturday afternoon was presided over by Dr. Edward H. Evans, State Teachers College, Florence. In this session a paper, prepared by Dr. A. W. Reynolds, Alabama Polytechnic Institute and read by Mr. Joseph H. Harrison, Jr., of Auburn, dealt with the effort to establish an Alabama Negro colony in Mexico in 1894-1896. The difficulties encountered in the venture from the loading of the colonists at Birmingham to the failure of the colony were traced in interesting detail.

Presentation of papers at the Saturday afternoon sessions brought to a happy conclusion the fourth annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Association.

Annual Report of the Treasurer

By MAUD McLURE KELLY

Balance, April 1, 1950.....\$ 1,791.12

Receipts, April 1, 1950-March 31, 1951:

Registrations, third annual meeting,

Selma\$620.00

Dues, current, delinquent, and in ad-

vance 933.00

Total Receipts\$1,553.00

Total Balance and Receipts\$3,344.12

Disbursements, April 1, 1950-March 31, 1951:

Printing and stationery\$313.03

Supplies and express charges..... 45.47

Postage 208.27

Clerical assistance 42.00

Long distance telephone charges..... 185.33

Engraving 11.71

Historical marker, Cahaba..... 89.58

Expenses, third annual meeting, Selma 642.56

President's travel, 1949-1950..... 4.87

Checks charged back, exchange, adjust-
ment of dues 9.10

Honorarium, editor of the *Review*,
1948-1951 600.00

University of Alabama Press, balance.. 199.50

Expenses, Executive Committee meet-
ing 33.44

Total Disbursements\$2,384.86

Balance, April 1, 1951.....\$ 959.26

Notes and Documents

THE DIARY OF DR. BASIL MANLY, 1858-1867

(Part II)

Edited by W. STANLEY HOOLE

May 15. [1861] Returned, last night, from Savannah; whither I had gone to attend the meeting of the So. Bap. Convention. There were about 150 delegates present; R. Fuller of Baltimore, Md. was made President. The meeting was harmonious & encouraging; no disturbing element having appeared. The most anxious subject before the body was the report of a committee on the state of the country. The draft of the report was made by Fuller, chairman: but the *tone* was put into it, chiefly, from a document prepared by Winkler; but also by verbal contributions from other members. The committee were unanimous, at last; so was the body—no exception.—

Sat. May 18. This morning, my wife returned from a visit to her mother in Lowndes co., leaving her mother better than she had expected.

tues. night [May 21]. Son Charles arrived, this evening, from Charleston, whither he went, after the convention. He brings many ideas & relics, as to the battle at Fort Sumter; stereoscopic views, &c. He took the steamer, Gray Cloud, for Selma, on his way home, to Tusk*. Wed. evening, May 22nd.

frid. morn. June 7. Returned from a hasty trip to Moble. I had heard that my factor & agent there, Tho^s. Lesesne, is drinking, badly. This, added to the fact that I could not get a statement of my affairs from him, led me to go down. It was well, I did. I got \$500. from him: as being what he supposed might be due to me; but he was so much intoxicated, even as early as 8 o'clock in the morning, as to be incapable of business. I had to leave without being able to effect a settlement: and left a request with Mr. Dan^l. Wheeler to see to a settlement, as soon as he finds Lesesne capable of it.

The price of articles I needed to purchase was so much increased that, with the addition of the expense of my journey down & up, I have lost about \$100, I suppose by my business being neglected.

June 23. At the invitation of Wl. Forney, now encamped with his regiment north of the Fair Grounds, I went out to the encampment at 6 o'clock, this aftⁿ. & addressed the soldiers using Joshua 22:22 as suggestive of my remarks. The men were marched into close ranks, about 700, & sat on the ground; in a thicket of young pines. Many Ladies & citizens were there, from the city. Never was audience more attentive; several seemed moved.

June 30. At 9 o'clock, this morning, I preached the funeral of Warren Larkins, a member of the "Metropolitan Guards"; aged about 27. He went with his company to Virginia; located near Norfolk. Died there June 26—of pneumonia—Remains brot. here for interment.—He had been, in his youth, a member of this church—got out of the way by drink—&c. He seemed earnestly to repent before, just before he left with his company; & opened his mind to his mother,—who is a venerable member of this church. Text John 13:7. "What I do," &c. . .

Mon. July 1. Wife & I took boat (the Hudson) to Selma, on our way to Tuskalooza. I had private business, necessarily; as all my worldly interests are in that neighborhood; but the annual meeting of the Trustees of the Ala. Hospital for the Insane called me there. . .

Thurs. night, July 18 returned from Tuska. in the stage, about 11 o'clock. Wife stopped at Benton, & went to visit her mother in Lowndes:—all safe, & well.

Thanks to Thee, Oh Thou Preserver of Men!

Sund. July 28. In accordance with the resolutions of a meeting of citizens held in our church on Wed. last—to acknowledge God in our late victory (at Manassas, Va. July 21.) I preached & took a collection for the relief of wounded soldiers. We had previously resolved to take a collection this day for bib. & tract distribution. The two collections came on together, therefore; for the relief of wounded soldiers, we got \$165; for the Tract cause \$36. . .

Mon. Sept. 2. My wife returned home (to Montg^y) from Ash-Creek, this morning, on the steamer Hudson, at about 2 o'clock. She had to wait more than two days in Benton, for a boat . . .

Tues. Sept. 10. attended funeral services for Johnson, a volunteer from Coffee Co. He died at Charlottesville Va. having been taken sick, in camp, of typhoid fever. His brother, Dr. Johnson, brot. his remains here: His sister is Mrs. Sam^l. M. Brown.

Sept. 12. This day, I had a conversation with W. W. Waller, one of the Deacons, on the subject of the money obligations of the church to me. Of the sum due, July 1 (\$612.50) only \$160. were paid, & that late in August. On the 1st. of Oct. prox. more than \$1000. will be due. In procuring the amt. last paid, there was such a difficulty, (from scarcity of money only, they said) as to leave it doubtful whether any more c^d. be procured, or no. This, all, is in consequence of no trade. Feeling as much responsible for the course of the Confederate States as any single man, I am as ready to bear *my part* in the trouble consequent, as any man. I told Bro. Waller that I am willing to take an amount sufficient to meet the personal expenses of myself & wife, (including those of travel to & from Tusk^a. where our home & family are) and about \$500. a year additional to pay my youngest son's way through college; or, to make it definite, I am willing to accept of \$400. a quarter, *while the war lasts*, provided that can be paid with some reasonable promptitude & regularity. But it is not consistent with my views, either on personal grounds or for the church's sake, to go on with insufficient resources, & a constantly accumulating debt. I stated that I had been mortified already in having to ask twice for my salary—(a new case with me, never having taken place till I came to Montgomery)—& that I do not intend to ask for it again. I expect the person having charge of that matter, to supply me at the proper time, if he is in funds, or as soon after as he may procure the means, without my asking for it. And, if it should turn out that the stress of the times, or other causes, does really deprive the congregation of the means to pay for the services of a pastor,—then a contingency has occurred, like others we meet with;—when not able to provide a given indulgence, *we must do without it*. If I have to sustain my own expenses in preaching the Gospel, I must be near my home & resources; & strive to give such attention to my own means & business as to provide my support. I stated to Waller that I spoke to him (& I sh^d. speak to no other) as the representative of the church; that he would better assemble the deacons & lay the whole case before them; if necessary, let the pew-holders be consulted, in some private way; that I should expect the case to be relieved of its embarrassing features

in some proper way, quite soon; and that my action would be silent, but decisive; if nothing satisfactory were done.—Thus the matter stands, for the present.

Mon. Sept. 16. This afternoon, on the steamer Hudson, my wife departed for Tuscaloosa, under the care of Cadet John P. Figh Jr. Sallie Bugbee also went in company. Wife made such arrangements, in departure, that she needs not to return here; in case it should appear to be our duty to leave Montgomery. I gave her \$200. all the money I can spare; leaving myself only a few dollars for pocket money; out of which she is to pay her own traveling expenses, & apply the residue to our various responsibilities there.

Wed. Sept. 25. Attended at the house of Mrs. Sarah Green, & performed funeral service for the child of her daughter, Maria. It was born out of wedlock, about 8 or 9 months ago. The mother & grandmother were both members of our church. The young woman was excluded, not long since,—when the fact of the birth of this child was made known. The child received the name of *Jeff. Davis*. Its illness was very short. The poor mother, I hope, is truly penitent. Xt will receive such, though scorned by a guilty world . . .

Tues. eve. Oct. 1. This night, by request of Capt. Fagg, I went to the old Foundry, where Fagg's company is quartered, (Cavalry) & preached to them from Eph. 2. 18 "Thro' Him, we both have access by our spirit, unto the Father." The men were attentive, as far as I could see, by the dim lights. I have found, universally, remarkable readiness to attend religious exercises.

Thurs. morn. Oct. 10. At the request of Waddy T. Armstrong, I went down to Pensacola, to marry him to Miss Elizabeth M. Abercrombie,—daughter of Col. James Abercrombie—a member of the Senate of Florida, for Escambia county. The mar. rite was performed at Col. A's residence, on Escambia bay, 9 miles, by land, above Pensacola. Only the immediate family were present. I went down on tuesday night, returned Wed. night; the married pair also. While I was there, the attack on Wilson's Zouaves, encamped on Santa Rosa Island, was made by our troops. I saw them returning, between 8 & 9 o'clock, A.M. of Wednesday.

On, or about, the last day of sept. Mond. morn. near sunrise, I baptized Dr. B. F. Blount, in the river. I am unwilling to go to the River

for baptism, at any time when the disorderly rabble can be present— This I deem to be in accordance with scripture—"Give not that which is holy to dogs"; &c. But the scene was very tranquil, & delightful, on a monday morning, at sunrise.

On this day, Oct. 20./ 61, in Tuskaloosa, at 1 ½ o'clock, my son, Charles, baptized his brother James. He had baptized his younger Brother Fuller at the same place, June 3rd 1860.— The eldest child, Basil, was baptized in Tuskaloosa Oct. 18. 1840. Abby was baptized in Richmond, Va. (at her brother's school) where she was sojourning in that city. All the rest, were baptized in Tusk^a. All in the visible church; & I hope soundly converted. Thank God!

Thurs. Oct. 31. I was, this morning, called to perform funeral service for a woman named Esther Cecilia Griffin, who died at a house of ill fame near the Capitol, kept by a woman known as "Big Lize" (Eliza Yarborough). The deceased was a native of Phil^a. where her mother is still living. She was the Kept mistress of a sporting character about town, whose name I have not heard, but who seemed to be deeply penetrated by her death. He came to me, with tears, after service in the house, & thanked me for my kindness; he said he was not married to her, but had had two children by her; that she had been unfortunate in youth; & that he had loved & treated her as a wife. I spoke, after reading a few verses from the 14th Chap. Job: many females (of that class) were in the room,—2 men; all were in tears: & some of them sobbed audibly. There were several men in the passage, whom I did not see till after service was over. I went, also, to the grave; & prayed there. The deceased was a Catholic; but the Priest refused to perform funeral service for her. I am willing to perform religious service among "publicans & sinners;" like my Master. John Powell told me, as we rode together to the grave, that he had buried both her children in that Grave Yard, before. The man that came to ask me to perform the service insisted on my receiving \$5. as *some compensation* for my time, he said . . .

Wed. Nov. 6. Set out of Tuskaloosa, My son Charles to come here. We met at convention, in Marion. Monday 11th. we separated, I went to Tusk^a. Charles to Montg^y. Each performed services due by the other . . .

frid. Nov. 22. Wife & I arrived in Montgomery, this morning, on the Beulah. Thanks to our Preserver! . . .

Mond. Dec. 2. This day, the inauguration of Gov. Shorter took place—in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at 12 n. John Gill Shorter. I officiated as chaplain. Shorter in center, Gov. Moore at his right & I next. On the left of the Governor were the Speaker (Crenshaw) & the President of the Senate (R. M. Patton). Crenshaw administered the oath.—

Friday. Dec. 13. Wife accompanied bro. David Gordon, over into Lowndes,—in an open buggy. The weather open & fine. They go, by way of Hayneville, to Ash-Creek. Her brother, B. B. R. is very sick.

Sund. Dec. 15. My host, W. P. Vanderveer, returned from Virginia. He has been there 3 months as special agent of Ala. in distributing clothing among the Ala. soldiers.

Tues. Dec. 17. This day, I paid board for self & wife, in full, up to date, from Aug. 17. The statem^t of the facts is as follows. Board was paid, to Aug. 17; wife then absent—Sept. 1 wife returned to Montg^y. & departed to Tusk^a. Sept. 14. Nov. 6. I went to Tusk^a. absent til Nov. 22. when wife & I both returned to Montgomery. I rate the time, thus—for me, 4 mo. at \$22.50—\$90, for wife 1½ mo.—\$33.75=\$123.75. I had paid for W. P. Vanderveer, Offutt's acct. \$42.57, Pew rent \$22.50=\$65.07. balance pd. \$58.68=123.75

Tues. aftⁿ. Dec. 24. My son, Basil, came through Montgomery—arrived yesterday, passed on this aftⁿ. by way of Hayneville & Ash-Creek, to Marion, on business. *Returned Jan 2. Thurs.*

Wed. Dec. 25 [1861] This day, made a present to little Jose Vanderveer, of a small rocking chair. He seemed greatly delighted with his little seat: presently, kneeled down by it, to see if it would do for the purpose I told him he must use it for;—to sit in, at morning prayer, in the family . . .

Wed. night, Jan^y. 8th [1862] Wife returned to Montgomery, from her visit to Lowndes. Her brother was able to be at the planation; & that released her.

Thurs. morn. Jan. 30. Returned, on the steamer R. B. Taney, from a visit to Benton, Lowndes Co. I had been summoned thither, by a letter from Bro. David Gordon, & at the request of the Haralsons, to be present at the re-interment of the remains of Frank Haralson, killed at the Battle of Manassas. But, again, as in the summer, there was a

disappointment. No intelligence had been rec^d. as to the remains; & so, without going to Ash-Creek, I returned on the next steamer up the River. Time & money bestowed in vain.

Sat. aftⁿ. Feb. 1. Attended the funeral of Benjamin H. Davis, a soldier in Connally Reg^t. Capt. Sapp's company, from Blount County, Ala. He died of congestion of the brain, last night Jan^y. 31. ab^t. 11 O'clock. He was a Baptist, would have been 25 yrs. old had he lived to the 28th. inst. He leaves a wife & one child.

Tues. morn. Feb. 11. After reading the account of the defeat of our people at Mill Spring in Kentucky the capture of Roanoke Island, & the visit of the Federal gunboats to Florence Ala. I felt a sense of duty impelling me to go to Gov. Shorter, & inform him, deliberately, that I am ready to be called on for any service he may think me qualified to perform & where-ever he thinks I can be most useful to my country.

Sat. Feb. 15. I rec^d. letter from my two boys, James & Fuller, desiring to volunteer in defence of our country—&, if possible, to go in Capt. Lumsden's company of artillery.

Frid. Feb. 21. Attended the funeral of J. L. Galloway, a soldier in the confederate service, Capt. Rew's company, Beck's Regiment. He was a baptist, resided in Baldwin county; died in the "Soldier's home" Hospital, Montg^y. of pneumonia thurs. morn. Feb. 20 '62.

Frid. aftⁿ. 21. Again I am called to attend a soldier to his grave. He died at the Soldiers' Home, this morning, at 2 O'clock. No one beside the undertaker & myself followed his remains. His name is *Davis*.

Sund. Morn. Feb. 23. Attended a soldier to his grave. Died, yest. aftⁿ. at the Soldier's home. None following, but the Undertaker, Luke H. Dickinson, & myself. His name is Stewart.

Sund. aftⁿ. Feb. 23. Attended service in the "Soldiers' Home" Hospital spoke from the 90th Psalm; & afterwards followed to the grave the bodies of two soldiers—*McMurray*, & *Jones*. McMurray was a baptist; Jones had been a methodist once, and seemed concerned for his [soul] on his death bed. Both were taken in the same hearse . . .

Frid. Feb. 28. Day of pub. humiliation, fasting & prayer, appointed by the President of the Confederate States. Preached from Judges 6.13. "If the Lord be with us, why then is all this befallen us?" Frid. Aftⁿ. A united prayer meeting of several churches at the Presbⁿ. House. Good attendance all day.—Frid. just at sundown attended the funeral

of D. Smith. of Frank Houston's company. Randolph county. Died of pneumonia, at Hospital of soldier's Home.—

Sat. aftⁿ. March 1. Attended the funeral of W^m. Aman, died at Soldier's Home. He was on a sick furlough, but had re-enlisted—His half-sister was present at the grave, in company with a female said to be of bad character. My son, James, has been on a visit to us since Friday. Feb. 28. He came to equip himself for joining Capt. Lumsden's artillery company, now at Hall's Mills, near Mobile. He is to enlist for the War. He is detained by the ordnance Department, to assist in making shot, shells, & other missiles; this being deemed more useful than as a com. soldier. I go to Tusk^a. to see about my other boys going into it too—set out on the St. Charles Mar. 5th.—Returned from Tuska. Sat. morning, March 15. on the steamer Jeff. Davis. The Lord has preserved me in safety and health—& I have found all well.—My son, Fuller, left Tusk^a. with a squad of cadets, on Tuesday last—whose destination is to drill a regiment of volunteers, that were to be located at Greenville, Butler county. Now, I learn that the demand for troops in Pensacola is such that the volunteers have been ordered down there; & the cadets desire to go there too. Fuller & the cadets left Montgomery on the Pensacola Train Sunday morning Mar. 16 at 6 O'clock;—but whether they will go to Pensacola direct or stop in Greenville, I have not yet learned.—They stop in Greenville; it being deemed improper to send these young men *out of the state*. They started on Saturday; but had to turn back, on account of floating bridges. I found, at the plantation, that they had killed 6065 lbs. of pork, this season; viz 2 hogs 325; 9, 1206; 4 hogs, 808; 20, 3726 lbs—6065. There are, yet, 4 wild hogs; which, if they can be caught, & make the average of that set, viz 544, in all; will make my stock of pork killed 6609 lbs.—Enough, I hope. I found 1 boar, 9 sows, 3 shoats, & between 40 (37) & 50 small pigs; besides some pigs that are with 4 wild hogs. This is my resource for meat next year.

Sund. morn. Mar. 16. Bro. A. J. Battle of Tusk^a. preached for us, this morning. "Without the shedding of blood, there is no remission." Heb. 9. Good & useful thoughts, eloquently expressed, with a fine elocution. Sun. night [Mar. 16]. The Rev. A. E. Dickinson, Genl. Superintendent of Colportage &c. in the C. S. army has a meeting of several churches, to-night, in the Presb^a. Ch. to advocate the cause of tract & bible distribution among the soldiers. The meeting was not large, house not quite filled. Dr. Petrie presided in the opening, &

called on Rev. J. C. Davis to pray (Meth. Prot.) He then called on Gov. Shorter to preside. The Governor made a stirring address on taking the chair. Among other things, he said that he would use military authority in suppressing the manufacture & sale of ardent spirits within this state, in two weeks. On taking his seat, he called on me to make some remarks—which I tried to do; &, in the course of what I said, I took occasion publicly & emphatically to thank him for the assurance he gives the public, as to suppressing the manufacture & sale of liquor in the state. The collection taken at the time amounted to \$340. Our ladies, of the Bap. Sewing Soc^y, had made up a contribution of some more than \$150. among themselves; & the Sunday School agreed that they would raise \$25. for the same object.

Mon. Mar. 17. I have learned that Lumsden, since his company has been in the neighborhood of Mobile, has become intemperate, profane, and abusive of his men. No doubt seems to exist of the fact. This furnishes ground of most serious objection ag^t. any one going into his company. In reply to letters from myself & Trayner (ordnance officer here) he assumes that James is fully committed, by having rec^d. transportation from Tuska. to Mobile; & that his name is entered on the roll of his company—and all that he can do is to complete his being mustered into service, & grant him a furlough, on "detached service."—see his letter. I have replied to him as follows:—

Montgomery, Ala. Mar. 17. '62

Capt. C. L. Lumsden, commanding comp^y. F. Light Artillery Bat. Ala. Vol^s.

Your favor of March 11th. is rec^d; & its contents noted. My leading object *was*, & *is*, that my son should be placed in such a situation that his energies may be of most service to the country, in this war. It was in no disposition to evade the proper duties & responsibilities of a soldier, whatever hardships or dangers might be attached that the suggestion came, of a change in his line of service. But the footing on which you consent to his remaining here defeats the object. The pay & the rations of a soldier, which may support him with his mess in camp, will not support him as a workman in a city. If his services are desired & sought by the head of a shop who is [?] large contracts for missiles of war, & who is willing at least to support the workman (which is all that is asked); why force the soldier to cut himself off from that support, by limiting him to soldiers' pay, & requiring him to advance largely from private resources for his mere subsistence? The object of us all is, or sh^d. be, to make our services the most effective possible. I entertain no doubt, myself, of the sphere now urged on him being

more eligible for this object, than the situation of a private in any department of the Army. I trust you do not doubt, this, yourself; & that your candor will readily assent that no unnecessary obstacles be thrown in the way of accomplishing the greater good. At first, when my son came to consult me about joining your company, I readily yielded to the stern call of duty, to serve the country; and his mother got him ready.—His knapsack was packed, & put on board the boat, to go down to Mobile. The suggestion of an alternative in his line of service came from others. Now, in addition to the general reason, there are reasons of a private & delicate character to which I can only in this distant way advert, occurring since the date of my letter to you, which have a weight not easily expressed in words.

It is far from my son, as from me, to fly from an engagement of any sort, once *understandingly* made: but I submit for your consideration, what is quite true, that my son, (a youth of 19) was *only coming to Montgomery to consult his parents* and that he accepted of transportation to Mobile from Tusk^a. in the expectation that matters w^d result only in consummating his union with your company; but with no idea or suspicion that that act bound him irrevocably. He supposed that, untill mustered in, he might return the price of such transportation;— & be honorably released, upon the occurrence of any controlling reason for a change of his course. *Anything, rather than dishonor*, is, I know, the motto of a soldier. But I submit that allowance is fitly made for inexperience, & ignorance of the technicalities of a service so remote from pursuits & studies such as have occupied my son. I sh^d have been, in that case, as uninformed as he.—The transportation accorded to him can be returned to any agent of the government authorized to receive it, at any moment. The stringency of army regulations was never intended to violate reason & propriety—or to defeat the purpose of serving one's country, the most effectively, in the hour of her need.—

Under these views, allow me to ask that you will reconsider suggestions as to completing the process of "mustering in"; and I flatter myself, that, giving me credit for entertaining no views adverse to the honor & efficiency of the Service, you will kindly interpret all I have said, and that you will favorably respond.

Very respectfully, Yours
B. Manly.

Mon. aft. Mar. 17. Attended the funeral of a youth, named John Fruman; from the "Soldiers' home". He is of Bibb county, about 15 or 16 yrs of age. His father is a soldier, had been in that Hospital: The son attended him, till he got well, & departed a week ago. The son was left to get into business— which he did; but finding himself

sick, he came to the Hospital to be nursed & died, of pneumonia, after a very short illness—

Tues. morn. Mar. 18. Attended a young Soldier's body to its "long home". He was T. S. Foster, of Garrett's regiment 20th Ala. Greene co. Hopewell P. O. about 20 years of age; a Methodist. Mrs. Bell, Miss Holt & others went up to the grave—died at "Soldier's home."

Wed. Mar. 19. I addressed a letter to Hon. W. P. Chilton, in relation to having my son James permanently detailed to work in the construction of weapons of war, while this war lasts. I have strong & peculiar objections to his going into the company he expected to join.

Thurs. Mar. 20. Rev. A. J. Battle passed through Montg^y. on his way to Tusk^a. I sent Julia along with him; & gave him \$10. for her expenses on the way. She had been sent to me from Richmond, as my children there had ceased to keep house; & they preferred to return her to me, rather than make any other disposition of her. I sent my obligation to my son in law Wm. H. Gwathmey for \$800. with interest at 8 per cent from the 10th of March inst. She arrived here on that day, in charge of Rev. A. E. Dickinson, Tract Agent. *They had lost all her baggage on the way, packed in two trunks.* She is to go to the plantation. Baggage afterw^d recovered.

Tues. Mar. 25. Attended a soldier to his grave—named J. L. Bradford, Coosa co. I had been sent for to see him an hour before he died, on yesterday. He seemed anxious about his soul.—Mar. 25. In the afternoon, attended another soldier to his grave—J. T. Goodwin, from Chunnenugge Ridge. He died on sunday. But his body had been kept in hopes that his mother might arrive before his interment; but she did not come . . .

Tues. Apl. 8. This day, we changed our boarding place from Wm. P. Vanderveer's to Mrs. John P. Figh's. I make this change with the feeling that I cannot expect to stay long in Montgomery, when I cannot have a home here. Mrs. Figh was very kind in offering us a refuge there; when it became necessary for us to change, in consequence of Mrs. Vanderveer thinking she w^d spend much of her time at her plantation.

Wed. Apl. 9. Attended two soldiers to their graves who had died at the hospital. The name of one was J. H. Bradley—of "Judge Bibb rebels" The name of the other was H. Gibson of Co. B. Reg^t.—First Florida . . .

Mon. morn. James arrived in Montg^y. on the Senator, from Mobile this morning, Apl. 14. The military took possession of the articles he had in Charge for Capt. Fowler; & ordered Fowler down to Mobile, forthwith. This is what should have been done *at first*. James was directed to return to Montgomery, without delay. He was disappointed in regard to his going to Tusk^a.—He had been dispatched, Thurs. Apl. 3. to Tusk^a. via Mobile, in charge of cannon, caissons, &c, &c. intended for Capt. W. H. Fowler's artillery co.—by order of Capt. Charles G. Wagner—Thus far trouble & expense—& no benefit, or profit,—in any quarter, or to any cause, that I can see.—

Tues. Apl. 15. James went to board at Mr. Fraser's; & next day, Wed. 16. he began to work with Janney & co. His enlistment is claimed, by Lumsden, to date from Feb. 21. / 62 . . .

Wed. Apl. 23. Our son, Fuller, arrived here, from Greenville, Butler co. His course is yet unsettled.

Thurs. Apl. 24. Our Son, Charles arrived this evening from *Corinth*, Via Mobile . . .

Mon. Apl. 28. Wife departed for Tusk^a in company with our son Charles. Everything, now, in our country, seems dark & uncertain. We are to glorify God in the fires.

Mon. May 5. Fuller was this day mustered into Service, as a Soldier of the Confederate States, by Capt. Glasgow, who commands a large company raised for artillery,—chiefly from Butler county. He has been here, since Wed. Ap^l. 23. at his own charges. He has been hospitably boarded & lodged at the house of our kind hostess, M^{rs}. Figh. . .

Thurs. aftⁿ. 2½ May 15. attended at H. W. Watson's, Court St. & performed the marriage rite between Albert J. Thornton (Prince Albert) of Clanton's regiment of Cavalry, & Miss Alcesta Crane Watson. They went on board the Southern Republic immediately; she, to stay a while at Enterprize, Miss. & he to join his regiment—attached to the army at Corinth. He offered me a fee; but I declined to receive it;—telling him he is to be in circumstances, he knows not what.

Tues. May 20. attended the body of a Soldier to his grave; & performed services, there. He died in the Soldiers' Home Hospital, under the charge of the Ladies Aid Assoⁿ. of [?].

Wed. May 21. attended the body of a Soldier to his grave; & performed service, there. He died in the [?] of [?] . . .

Frid. June 13. John B. Rudolph came to my room & settled for James's service in 1860 paying me for James \$100. in money, & gave a due bill for \$68.66. This settles the matter, & when he pays that due bill, all will be well. Interest sh^d. be paid on this when paid. We calculated interest on the debt only to the first of June Inst.

Frid. June 13. This morning, my servant, Larrey, came to Montgomery from Tusk^a in order to attend Fuller on his proposed entrance upon military life,—in connexion with Hilliard's Legion.

Wed. June 18. Attended at a house in Monroe St. next door to the chair factory (now used as a hospital for the sick of the Yankee Prisoners) & performed funeral service for the body of Dr. W^m. Bel-
langee, a Dentist. Aged about 55 years. He had been engaged in making cartouches for the Government. He was a native of Pennsylvania; had been here many years, a batchelor, leaving no Kindred in this part of the country. He seems to have been esteemed by many . . .

Sat. June 21. Attended at the dwelling & performed funeral Service on occasion of the death of Eliza Watts, aged about 14 daughter of Col. Tho^s. H. Watts; att^y. Gen^l. of the C. S. Text Luke 8.52. She had been sick but 2 days; deep & immitigable nausea was the prominent symptom. The children of that family had forsaken our S. School for some months; & the mother gives attendance on worship *rarely*. I have not been able to win upon this household, So as to make them appear pleased & easy when I am where they are; though I have made more efforts than common. The children, (young Ladies, & all) never appear when I go there: & once, when I found Miss Kate in the room, where I *was expected* to tea, she soon withdrew & did not appear at Table, nor afterward through the evening. When I first came to Montgomery, Jan^y. '61, they made an entertainment—a great crowd was invited—among the rest, Henderson & Tichenor, Ministers; but *I was not invited*. M^r. Watts never came to speak to me, like other female members, when I took charge of the church. When I called at her house to make her acquaintance, I only presumed that a Lady whom I found at her house was M^r. Watts. I have met their son, John, often, at home & on the street; & tried to be companionable & pleasant with him; but he answers in monosyllables, & turns his head as if looking elsewhere. When I had finished the Service, at the house, John came to the table where I stood, & took from it a little S. Sch. music book, saying "hold on"—& went out into the far end of the

piazza to hunt up H. W. Watson, Deacon of the 2nd. Bap. ch. who came to me, bringing the book, & saying that Eliza had been humming the tune, "children in Heaven" the morning she died, & John thought it desirable to sing it. I asked if Mr. Thomas, our chorister, were there. He Not appearing,—I set the tune a going;—& the people, Thomas, Watson, &c joined in. The girls of M^r. Bacon's School, were there in a body; but could not sing for crying. I walked up to the house *above a mile*, in the hot sun, between 4 & 5 o'clock—rode with the undertaker, Powell, to the grave yard, & walked from the yard to my lodging, at M^{rs}. Figh's, 1 1/2 miles. Thus ended the work of the afternoon. I was not informed of the sickness of Eliza, till they found her dying. Then, a coach was sent for me, in great haste. It met me in the street, when I was actually on way to the funeral of Julius Knapp. I sent word that I was then just going to preach that funeral; but w^d go as soon as I c^d. be released. I went from the grave yard to the house; but she had been dead an hour. I saw M^{rs}. Watts; & tendered any service I c^d. render. But she mentioned nothing that I c^d do. . . .

Mond. noon. Attended in the Meth. Epis. Ch. & heard funeral services for M^{rs}. Mary Bedell Hilliard wife of Col. H. W. Hilliard. She died of pulmonary consumption—aged, perhaps, 45. M^r. Baldwin preacher in charge performed services—read 3 long extracts from chaps. 7, 21, 22 of Revelations sang two hymns, made a long prayer, & a discourse of an hour. We were 2 hours in the house. He attributed to her every excellence belonging to man or woman, all in completeness & perfection. It has been generally understood that she was a feeble character, her goodness that of the negative sort, & an unusual share of little womanish weaknesses. So the world goes. Baldwin's discourse was a comfort, because it was as long as some of mine. The church was probably 2/3rd full—almost no soldiers present. . . .

July 1. Tuesday, Just as the bell struck for the close of the labors of the day, at Janney's foundry, My son James had the nail of his thumb torn off by a *grind stone*; or rather something he was grinding, that got caught in the Stone. D^r. Green, post Surgeon, examined him; & says that he cannot work again for 3 weeks, at least. James returned to his work, on Monday July 21. /62

Monday July 7. I set out for Tuskaloosa. Sat. Morn. July 26. return to Montg^y. with my wife; all well. Our Son, Fuller, left Montgomery with his battalion of artillery, under Maj. Reeves, on tues. July 15.

bound to Atlanta; where they are to be equipped. "The good-will of Him that dwelt in the bush", go with the dear boy! Sat. July 26. James was taken with a chill & fever, about dinner time, to-day. His mother soon came to see him, & remained with him all night. James went to work again, on Wed. July 30.

Sund. July 27. This aftⁿ. attended the funeral services for the remains of the late Col. Tennent Loman. He commanded the 3rd. Reg^t. of Ala. Vols—and was slain while heading a charge at the battle of "Seven pines," before Richmond. His remains were discovered & identified by some hints given by a prisoner—that a person of that rank had been buried near a certain tree, notched with the number of Stars he wore on his uniform. M^r. Baldwin performed the Service—long, tedious, barren, & inappropriate. A very large congregation was present.

Tues. Aug. 5. I suffered an attack of disease upon the urinary organs, quite painful, & attended with some fever. I used sp^{ts}. of turpentine externally & internally. Thank God, to-day I am able to preach. A little stone, calculus, oblong, but as large as a buck-shot, came away, in my urine . . .

Thurs. Sept. 18. This day was observed in our church, in accordance with a call from the President of the C. S. A. for its general observance, as a day of Thanksgiving & supplication, in regard to the victories God has granted our arms; & in respect of the still suffering condition of our country. Our house had not as many as the ordinary congregation of Sunday morning; although there was no Service in the Presb^a. & Meth. Epis. churches. The text I had was Ps. 2. 11. "Serve the Lord with fear; rejoice with trembling." In the aftⁿ. at my proposal, there was a pr. meeting in the Presb^a. church, in which several congregations united. The Presb^a. Pastor, D^r. Petrie, is absent, on acc^t. of ill-health. . . .

Sund. morn. Oct. 5. This is the regular communion day. Notice was given last Sunday that there would be baptism. But there is no water in the font; nor any arrangements made for Baptism. The sexton, Tom does not attend worship—refuses to comply with my order to appear before me after every service, to know if any orders or notices are to be given; & I informed Deacon B. B. Davis some weeks since that I should give no more orders to that man till he had obeyed those I had already given him. Last monday, I again spoke to Davis

about the sexton, told him expressly of the difficulty just ahead, that there was danger the font be not filled & that I w^d. not give an order to a man that w^d. not obey me, whom I c^d. not discharge, nor force to do his duty. He said there w^d. be a new sexton by the close of the week. Here is the close of the week, & nothing is done.

To The First Baptist Church, Montgomery,

Oct. 5. 1862.

Brethren,

I am Satisfied that my ministry among you is a failure. I therefore hereby lay down my office, as Pastor; to take effect after this day. Please authorize the clerk to issue letters of dismissal, for myself & my wife, if you think we are entitled to them. Without any feeling of personal alienation from any member, I am your friend & well-wisher.

Affectionately

B. Manly.

This was sent up to the church, while in session, on Sunday aftⁿ. by the hands of Bro. Rufus Figh, who was assisting me in serving the colored people in the Lect. Room below. What follows is preserved in certain official documents.—Several colored persons had walked 15 miles that morning to be baptized; some had walked nine. I had the font filled by the labor of the colored members (not suffering Tom to have any hand in it) & baptized all—in time for them to start home that evening. The Lord's Supper was administered also—& the new members rec^d. into covenant:—all in good season, the same aftⁿ. Oct. 5.

Frid. eve. returned, by a freight-train via Letohatchie, from a visit to my old Mother, where my wife is now. Mother is too sick & feeble for my wife to leave her; especially as her brother & Sister are both quite unwell.

To The First Bap. Church, Montgomery

Montgomery Oct. 12. 1862

Brethren,

Having rec^d. your communication, from the meeting held on the 8th inst. I freely & cordially *withdraw my resignation*. More need not be said, at present. God grant us grace for all the responsibilities under which his goodness lays us!

Affectionately yours

B. Manly . . .

(To Be Continued)

Book Reviews

Lowndes Court House: A Chronicle of Hayneville, an Alabama Black Belt Village, 1820-1900. By Mildred Brewer Russell. Montgomery: The Paragon Press, 1951. 293 pp. \$4.25.

Mildred Brewer Russell, daughter of the distinguished Colonel and Mrs. Willis Brewer, was born in Hayneville, deep in the heart of the Alabama Black Belt in 1874. Throughout her girlhood she listened to tales of those pristine early days before the Yankees came, growing strong in local pride and Southern patriotism. She loved her native village, its history, people, old records, newspapers, and old recollections, and as she approached the satisfying plateau of middle age she began to assemble her data systematically with the thought of publishing a chronicle of her county. In 1949, at the age of seventy-five, however, she died, leaving her work incomplete. But Mildred Russell McKeithen, her daughter, realizing the value of her mother's labors, took up the work and successfully saw it through the press.

As Mrs. Russell states in her Foreword, "the records of Lowndes County are incomplete; many papers are unrecorded; the first will book is missing. . . . The marriage records begin several weeks after the county was established. It is tradition that tremendous floods, long continued, prohibited travel to the county seat, and in this way many valuable documents were lost."

The author was cognizant of the incompleteness of her history, but she realized the value of the potential information she had amassed. Approximately half of *Lowndes Court House* is made up of names—early residents, marriage records, grand and petit jurors, and other lists. The other half is a narrative describing Hayneville's first settlers, the early village days, the struggles of the sixties and the seventies, and the drowsy, delapidated though happier days of the eighties and nineties.

Lowndes Court House contains much extremely important, first-hand data, expertly gathered. It lacks the touch of the skillful organizer and the polished narrator, however, and the facts are at times ineptly interpreted. Yet the facts are there, collected by one who knew how to thread her way through a labyrinth of material and come out at the end with the pertinent data in hand. The volume reflects

many years of painstaking research and much hard work. Its author deserves high credit. One can but regret that she did not live to see the fruits of her labor.

W. STANLEY HOOLE
University of Alabama

Teacher Supply and Demand in Alabama, 1948-49. By George Howard. University, Alabama: Bureau of Educational Research, 1950. xxvi, 227 pp.

When a state is growing, its schools grow. By 1954 the schools of Alabama must serve 173,000 more children than they did in 1948-49, an increase of 26.4 per cent. These additional pupils will require 5,700 more teachers and 5,700 new classrooms. These and other such facts are revealed in Professor George Howard's *Teacher Supply and Demand in Alabama, 1948-49*, a volume which provides a factual basis for educational planning. It should be helpful to schoolboards, superintendents, and legislators in planning ahead for the support of schools. Among similar studies now being made in all the states, this one stands out for its factual detail and accuracy.

Professor Howard's book presents an array of well-assembled facts from reliable sources. Birth rates are compared with school enrolment figures, showing a nearly static enrolment from 1940 to 1948 and the remarkable increase in enrolments in 1949 and 1950. The study shows that Alabama needs about 1,400 new white teachers and 700 new Negro teachers each year. White teacher-training institutions fail by about 25 per cent of turning out the number needed. Thus, about 400 positions each year have to be filled by sub-standard teachers. Institutions training Negro teachers likewise train fewer teachers than needed. But these figures are based on just *enlarging* the schools; they do not provide for *improvement*. If Alabama reduces the teacher-load from 30.4 pupils per teacher to the national average of 26.8, more teachers must be trained and employed. If art, music, libraries and vocational subjects are added, more of these teachers must be trained. If the increasing number of young children entering school are cared for adequately, teacher-training institutions must graduate twice as many elementary teachers as at present.

Dr. Howard has given us facts upon which the state's school plans for the immediate future may be built.

PAUL IRVINE
Alabama Polytechnic Institute

News and Notices

The magazine *Ebony* for April, 1951 contains an article on "The Face in the Window," a story of the Carrollton, Alabama courthouse, and another on "Talladega: College Oasis in Alabama."

* * *

Within the next three or four months Gus J. Bryan and Louis F. Adams of Opp, Alabama are to publish their history of Covington County, entitled *Tracks Along the Three-Notch*.

* * *

Otto Eisenschiml's article on "John W. Mallet, ACS President in 1882" appeared in the American Chemical Society's *Chemical and Engineering News*, January 8, 1951. Mallet was a professor of chemistry at the University of Alabama, 1856-1860.

* * *

Edgar L. Pennington's little brochure, entitled "History of St. John's Episcopal Church, Mobile, Alabama," has been published recently by the Woman's Auxiliary Convocation.

* * *

A history of the Medical College of Alabama Library, written by Librarian Mildred R. Crowe and illustrated by Helen Kovacs, research assistant, was issued in March. The 24-page pamphlet is dedicated to Roy R. Kracke, M. D., dean of the College, 1944-1950, "who believed and acted upon the belief that 'a medical school is just as good as its library.'"

* * *

In welcoming the Association to Alabama Polytechnic Institute, April 6, President Ralph Draughon spoke in part as follows: "I welcome you to Auburn and to the campus of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute for the fourth annual meeting of the Association. I am particularly honored to extend these greetings from the stage of Langdon Hall because of its own interesting history. It is recorded that a great debate on secession was held in this hall in 1860 between leaders of the Whig and Democratic parties from over the South. It is further recorded that the debate lasted all day and as the speaking progressed

it became evident that the Whigs, who opposed secession, were going to carry the day. Then it was that arrangements were made by telegraph to bring William Lowndes Yancey from his sick bed by special train to save the day. It is further recorded that Yancey was transported on a cot from the station by strong-armed Democrats who marched up and deposited the cot and its dynamic occupant on the stage with the simple introduction, 'Here's Yancey, boys.' It is said that the great firebrand of secession then arose, pale and ill, and delivered one of the great speeches of his career. I believe it is needless to say that he carried the day for the Democrats, vanquishing such stalwarts as Parson Brownlow and outshining such giants as Benjamin Hill of Georgia."

* * *

Volume I of *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum*, edited by Henry Thomas Shanks, professor of history and dean at Birmingham-Southern College, has been released by the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Mangum, a distinguished justice and senator, lived 1792-1861. For the voluminous papers Dean Shanks has prepared an excellent biographical sketch. Four volumes will be required to complete publication of the Mangum manuscripts, it is estimated.

* * *

The Hale County Historical Society met at the home of Mr. Levin Sledge, May 3, 1951, and heard talks by Mr. Hamner Cobbs and Mr. G. E. Sledge on the Pickens and Sledge families.

* * *

The bust and tablet honoring Dr. William Crawford Gorgas were unveiled at the New York University Hall of Fame, May 24, 1951. Dr. Thomas W. Martin, vice chairman of the Gorgas Hall of Fame Committee, read a brief paper on the career of Dr. Gorgas.

* * *

The Helsinki (Finland) University Library has recently placed an order for a complete back file and a current subscription for *the Alabama Review*.